University of Alberta

Immigrant students "success":
Factors that influence Muslim female teenagers' adaptation in a predominantly male Spanish school environment

by

Nuria Segarra Adell

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
Applied Linguistics

Department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies

Edmonton, Alberta
Fall 2007

Library and Archives Canada

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Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-33154-5
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-33154-5

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ABSTRACT

In Spain, the immigrant student (non-university) population has experienced a five-fold increase in the last five years. Most immigrant students face challenges in their new environment. Moroccan students, however, experience longer adaptation processes and have a fifty per cent less chance of finishing their high school studies than Spanish students.

To better understand this situation, this qualitative research examines how two Moroccan Muslim female students build their new identity and manage to feel succesful about it in the context of a Spanish high school, where most of their classmates are Spanish males from a Catholic cultural tradition. Using Identity Negotiation Theory (Ting-Toomey, 2005), Integrative Communication Theory (Kim, 2001), and Co-Cultural Theory (Orbe, 1998), this study proposes a theoretical framework to explain this new identity not only from the point of view of the girls themselves but also from their network members' perspectives.

DEDICATION

To David, who has supported me every minute of this process.

To those friends who taught me to follow my dreams.

To my family, who have always been close despite the distance.

In memory of my grandmother.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I consider this thesis the result of the collaborative efforts of many people and I acknowledge the contributions of each one of them.

I especially thank my main thesis supervisor, Dr. Elisabeth Le. Her unconditional and constant support, guidance, and high expectations have inspired this tremendous learning experience. I also thank my thesis co-supervisor Dr. Robert Thornberry, whose insight and support with English and translations from Spanish have been a valuable addition to this study. Thanks also to Dr. Gabriela Zapata, for her insights and constructive criticism on the contents of this study. I am also grateful to Dr. Ali Abdi for his willingness to be part of my committee.

I extend my sincere gratitude to my friends Annette Flaherty, Yukari Meldrum, Mary Francis MacLellan-Wright, Mary Jane and Jerome Klein, Laura Monerris Oliveras, Karla Del Carpio, Argelia González, Phillip McKague, and Peggy Dowell for their essential contributions, help and support with inspiring ideas, English proof-reading, and help with translations.

Thanks are also due to the personnel and students at Benisama's high school in Spain, especially to Pepe Seco and Cristina Gozálvez. Their enthusiastic and mindful collaboration made this study possible. Finally, I would like to thank the department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies and the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research at the University of Alberta for funding my Master's degree with various scholarships and grants.

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CHAPTER 1: PRESENTATION OF THE STUDY

Introduction

Background information

Moroccan Immigration in Spain

Nationals from Morocco are the largest group of immigrants in Spain and the reasons attributed to this migration are primarily socioeconomic (Centro para la Integración Social y Formación de Inmigrantes [CEiMigra], 2005). To compare the economies of Morocco and Spain, the purchasing power of Morocco was merely 17.9% of Spanish purchasing power in 2003. Most Moroccan immigrants arriving in Spain come from the Riff, a very poor and underdeveloped area in Morocco. The Riffans' reasons to immigrate include, family regrouping[1], poverty, the traditional social structure, and because of the presence of established communities.

In 2004, the Spanish government approved a massive legalization of immigrant residents in Spain, which improved in part the social integration[2] of many immigrants. As a negative consequence, however, there has been a mass arrival of illegal immigrants from North-African countries (including Morocco) that continues up to the present (CEiMigra, 2005).

---

[1] Family regrouping: is a right acquired by those foreigners who are residents in Spain to join together, under certain requirements, as many ascendants or descendants, who are still in their country of origin, as they have in their charge (*Ley de Extranjería*, art. 16 and 17, enforced since January 23rd, 2001).

[2] The word "integration" is used in this study to refer to the process of adaptation of immigrant students in the high school because it is the term used in the legislation and programs regarding Compensatory Education in Spain.

Situation of Moroccan students in Spanish high schools

In Spain, the school-age immigrant population increased five times between 2001 and 2005 (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia [MEC], 2006). A study conducted in Madrid, which can be extrapolated to the rest of Spain, found the highest level of rejection towards immigrant students among students between 12 and 16 years old. Only half of Madrid students between these ages said they accept immigrant presence in Madrid (El País, October, 24, 2006). Among immigrant communities in Spain, Moroccan students generally have longer adaptation processes, and they are 50% less likely to finish their high school studies and continue their post-secondary studies compared to mainstream Spanish students (CEiMigra, 2003).

Regil Amorena (2004) reviews and contrasts Moroccan cultural values and traditions with Spanish ones and sheds light on some of the difficulties experienced by Moroccan immigrants in Spain. The author asserts that, traditionally, Morocco has a patriarchal society, based on prescriptions in, or interpretations of, the Koran. The Muslim religion establishes Moroccan traditions, rules and norms, as well as the familiar model. In Moroccan society, age implies wisdom and authority. In comparison to Spanish Western values, Moroccan children -are not supposed to develop a critical spirit, and are not encouraged to play as in Western countries. On the contrary, children are supposed to behave according to adult criteria. Also, Moroccan children are implicitly educated to accept class differences. The Koran prescribes total obedience to parents and freedom is perceived as an act that offends God (Belardi, 1991, cited in Regil Amorena 2004).

In the Moroccan context, the aim of education is to integrate children into the society. Parental discipline is strictest when related to schooling. If children are studying instead of working, parents expect them to get good grades and to be

appreciated by their teachers. Also, since school educators and teachers are considered to be as important as their parents in terms of authority, children are expected to obey them.

In Morocco, the teenage or adolescent stage between childhood and adulthood does not exist as it does in Western cultures. A male child is considered a man after circumcision (4 to 7 years old), and he will be respected and obeyed by female members of his family. However, he will be disdained by male members of the family until the moment he contributes to the common benefit of the family with his work or his own salary. Regil Amorena (2004) asserts that nowadays, because of the unemployment situation in Morocco, interviewed teachers in Morocco refer to male students' behaviour as irresponsible and childish. As for female Moroccan children, they are educated to be housekeepers from a very early age. According to Moroccan teachers, female children are responsible and keep silent at school. When they start puberty, females are separated from all males, even in their own family. Their only contact outside the house is through school, and in many cases, they stop attending classes because their families perceive that school could threaten their virginity. This description corresponds to the traditional roles but it is important to note that attitudes have been changing since the eighties. The role of women is extending to the public space, equal rights are being defended and justified by interpretations of the Koran (Soriano Miras & Santos Bailón, 2002).

Minority languages in Morocco can negatively impact the education of Moroccan students in Spanish high schools (El-Ghazouani, 2003). The Ameligh (or Berber), the most ancient language spoken in the Northwest of Morocco, is comprised of different dialects, but it is not written. Moroccan Dialectal Arabic also has an oral tradition, and it is the language most frequently used all over Morocco, including the

area of Berber dominance. Standard Arabic is taught at school and is the language of Islam, but is rarely used outside school, in the mass media, or in political or institutional contexts. French is taught from Primary School to Higher education and is also the diplomatic language. Spanish is spoken in some cities in Northern Morocco, and it is only taught as a second foreign language in schools. The most important cities, such as Casablanca, Rabat or Tetuan are Arabic speaking, whereas rural areas continue using the Ameligh or Berber language. Riff is a traditionally Berber area, but because of the great variation between different dialects, they communicate in Moroccan Dialectal Arabic.

Comparison of Spanish and Moroccan Educational Systems

Morocco's educational context also influences the education process of Moroccan children who immigrate to Spain. According to Bermejo Fernández & Solano Lucas (2002), the differences and similarities between Spanish and Moroccan education systems can be described as follows:

- Pre-compulsory education is private in both countries. However, in Morocco it is religious in many cases, and some children stop attending school when they are seven years old. In Spain, most of children attend school from three years old.
- In both countries compulsory education starts at the age of six. In Spain there are ten courses of compulsory education whereas in Morocco there are nine.
- In Spain there are two courses of non obligatory secondary education, there are three in Morocco. In both countries, these can be for obtaining a technical diploma or a Baccalauréat.

- The study of the first foreign language starts in both countries in the third year of compulsory education. In Spain, the foreign language is English and in Morocco it is French.
- In Spain, the study of a second foreign language, usually French, begins at age 12. In Morocco, it starts at sixteen years old and can be Spanish, English, German or Italian.
- To be promoted from one level to another, Moroccan students need to pass external exams, whereas in Spain this promotion is automatic.
- Both educational systems involve family in the education and the student is considered at the center of the education. Also, both systems are based on active teaching methodologies.

Compensatory and intercultural education in Spain

According to Regil Amorena (2004), in Spain during the eighties, new legislation was passed with the aim of reducing deficiencies in the Spanish educational system and it has a more constructive vision. This new legislation introduced the Program of Compensatory Education which consists of having an additional teacher to work with small groups of students with special needs. He or she teaches one or some hours per week with a small budget for additional expenses. This program is targeted at students with delays in their learning process. In the case of immigrant students, compensatory teachers need to teach them the language, deal with lacunas of basic knowledge, and also serve as agents of intercultural education. In 1996, stricter requirements to be eligible for compensatory programs were introduced. Nowadays, only students delayed by two or more courses are eligible. Also, the compensatory teacher is assigned depending on the number of registrations at the beginning of the course. Since new students arrive during the school year, the

reality is that, in most cases, the compensatory teacher has too many students in his/her classes.

The stricter requirements to access Compensatory Programs mean that Moroccan students receive most of the extra support, since they are the immigrant community that struggle most to adapt due to the great variation between Arabic and Spanish and frequent deficiencies in required basic knowledge. The concentration of Morrocan students receiving extra support decreases the number of Spanish students eligible for support. This has generated discrimination against, and rejection of, Moroccan students. Some Spanish teachers are also frustrated by the stricter eligibility requirements. They now experience a higher concentration of immigrant students in marginalized centers where most of their students are in need of compensatory education.

The law establishes parents' rights to choose their children's educational centre (Colectivo Ioé,1996; Colectivo Sigüan 1997, as cited in Regil Amorena, 2004). Since 1993, parents can choose educational centres that are in the geographical or territorial jurisdiction where the children live. By law, any discrimination because of ideological, religious, moral, social, racial or birth reasons is not allowed. However, still 75% of immigrant students in Spain attend public schools (Centro de Investigación y Documentación Educativa [CIDE], Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 2005).

The Spanish Ministry of Education and Sciences supports an Intercultural Education program by offering interdisciplinary courses for Education in Peace, and they have a budget for advertising. These interdisciplinary contents are supposed to be taught at tutoring time as well. The Spanish government also has an agreement with the Moroccan government, which commits to (or promises to) provide Spanish high

schools with Moroccan teachers to teach Moroccan students the Arabic language and culture. However, according to Regil Amorena (2004), this program of Intercultural Education does not appear very useful and more work needs to be done.

Difficulties in the Moroccan Community

European countries with more years of experience in receiving immigrants than Spain experience constant school failure and school dropouts of Moroccans. Identified causes include economic disadvantages, the lack of competence in the language of the host country, and the need to adapt to ways of living and teaching that are vastly different from the traditions and culture of their country of origin (Garauday, 1995, as cited in Regil Amorena, 2004). Other difficulties arise because of the failure of the education system to offer appropriate responses to the newcomers' problems. In the case of Spain, Regil Amorena (2004) mentions the following failures:

- Concentration of immigrant students in certain public centers (Aja, 2000; Sigüan, 1997; Colectivo Ioé, 1996a; Lovelace, 1999b, as cited in Regil Amorena, 2004). Reasons for this concentration are two-fold: immigrants tend to live in certain neighbourhoods, and Spanish parents tend to transfer their children to centers with lower concentrations of immigrant students, as found in private or compound centers[1] (Regil Amorena, 2004; Alegre Canosa, 2004). Other reasons can include the fact that there is no need to pay for uniforms or for extra activities at the public schools.
- The assignment of resources does not change according to the differing concentration of immigrant populations in different schools.
- While the cultural origin and life background experience of the new student population change, the curriculum offered in public centers continues to be

homogenous, without considering diversity. Therefore, there is a process of assimilation into Western culture and values.

- Social relationships are established through prestige, according to abilities and competencies that are linked to general knowledge assumed to be "universal", thereby reinforcing only the dominant culture. France (1996a, cited in Regil Amorena, 2004), asserts that the host school does not value the previous knowledge of immigrant newcomers.
- Moroccan students' adaptation to Western values and programs creates conflict between children and their families.
- Teachers are not personally or professionally accustomed to diversity and having a variety of cultures in their classrooms. Many teachers perceive all immigrant students, particularly Moroccan students, problematic in general. This is because they have a lower academic level and the Program of Compensatory Education is insufficient. Moreover, some racism is present, subtle or explicit, and also personal ethnocentric[3] prejudices against Muslim people exist (Pascual, 1991, cited in Regil Amorena, 2004).
- Teachers tend to pay attention to Moroccan students when they expect a potential conflict, and when Moroccan students do not reach the Spanish standards of education. In the latter case, teachers overprotect Moroccan students and are less demanding of them. However, Regil Amorena (2004) asserts that in some cases there is a hidden agenda to get rid of these immigrant students as soon as possible.

---

[3] The terms of *ethnocentrism*, *xenophobia*, and *racism* are used recurrently along this study. According to the Oxford Encyclopedic English Dictionary (Third Ed., 1996), *ethnocentrism* is defined as the evaluation of other races and cultures by criteria specific to one's own; *xenophobia* is the deep dislike of foreigners; and *racism* means to belief in the superiority of a particular race prejudicy based on this.

- Among Spanish teachers, there is a lack of knowledge of Moroccan culture. Consequently, teachers have stronger stereotypes and lower expectations of Moroccan immigrant students.

Difficulties in incorporating Moroccan students into the Spanish Education System

The difficulties of incorporation will depend on the age upon arrival in Spain. El-Ghazouani (2003) highlights that Moroccan students who arrive in Spain at the age of 10 or 11 had not completely acquired their home culture and language due to the existence of multiple minority languages. Regil Amorena (2004) adds that students who are between eight and twelve years old face a different language that is used for the instruction of content knowledge. If these students have not attended school in their home country, they will also experience lack of basic knowledge, habits, and discipline. On the contrary, it will be helpful if they already know some French, because Spanish and French are both Romance languages with a similar alphabet and many commonalities in vocabulary and grammar (Regil Amorena, 2004; Bermejo Fernández & Solano Lucas, 2002).

According to Regil Amorena (2004), if Moroccan students arrive in Spain between twelve and eighteen years old, there is a trend towards absenteeism, especially among girls who stay home to help with housekeeping tasks in order to avoid the public space. Regil Amorena (2004) also highlights the effort that immigrant families make when they move to another country. He notes that Moroccan parents may seem disinterested in their children's education because of their own illiteracy and lack of knowledge about schooling. Moreover, in many incidences parents cannot speak Spanish, which creates barriers for them in communicating with

teachers. Finally, the active or passive attitude of the educational centre also plays its role.

Funes (2000) highlights some of the particular problems that immigrant students face when they enter Spain as teenagers. If they arrive in Spain because of a process of family regrouping they will likely relate with Spanish teenagers who are acting as teenagers according to the expectations of Western culture. These will be non-expected behaviours in the immigrant teenager's home culture and in their family. This new world in Spain is less demanding and authoritarian than the one that they knew. Another troubling issue for immigrant teenagers is their poor purchasing power, they cannot pay for famous brands in clothing, videogames and do not have money to go out. At the age of 16, they face another crisis - they could start working and may be expected to do so but they do not have work permits.

Regil Amorena (2004) adds that Arabic immigrant students have different skills in instrumental knowledge. Also, in most cases, as the language at school is not their mother tongue (French, classical Arabic, etc.), their reading and writing skills are affected. Additionally, they attend mainstream classes with Spanish students, but are studying different materials. They are therefore often described as "part of the furniture of the classroom" (Regil Amorena, 2004, p.150 [the researcher's translation]). While some classmates will help, others will stigmatize immigrant students and use them as *chivo expiatorio* 'scapegoat boy', i.e., as the enemy against whom to reinforce or assert the other groups' identity. Some Spanish classmates will discriminate against Moroccan students because of their accent. Often the only option left for these immigrant students is to join other Moroccan students or other groups that suffer exclusion, such as immigrant students from other nationalities or Spanish students with special needs or socialization problems.

Aside from having to face different rhythms, traditions, and a new language, immigrant students will also have to adjust to a new conception of time and space. All these factors combine to greatly increase the difficulty of the Moroccan students' psychological adaptation (Regil Amorena, 2004).

Conclusion

Moroccan immigrant students in Spanish high schools face special challenges in their adaptation to the Spanish educational system due to numerous factors, specifically language and the vast difference between Spanish and Moroccan culture, particularly cultural issues related to religion. The age and circumstances of the arrival of the Moroccan students and their origin (urban or rural) will be relevant. Finally, the integration programs of the Spanish education system experienced by Moroccan immigrant students generate additional contextual factors that are an area of focus of this research.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this pilot study is to test a model of analysis for assessing successful adaptation of Moroccan immigrant students in a Spanish high school. This theoretical framework could highlight critical factors for success that could serve as a guide for immigrant students from Moroccan origin as well as pertinent information for their host educational settings. Its outcomes could serve as guidance for novel strength-based intervention programs in multicultural Spanish high schools.

Thesis Outline

Chapter One provides background information, reviews relevant literature to build the theoretical framework of this study, and describes the research methods used in this research. Chapter Two is an analysis of the data collected according to seven main categories. Finally, Chapter Three includes reflections on the results in relation

to current literature and future application of findings with the aim of facilitating a richer, more inclusive educational experience for Moroccan immigrant students in Spain.

Theoretical Framework

Ethnography of Communication in Multicultural High School Settings

As Patricia A. Duff (2002) points out, "large numbers of minority students in schools worldwide are at considerable risk of alienation, isolation, and failure because of the discourse and interactions that surround them on a daily basis. Ethnography of Communication analysis can help uncover (potential) communication problems and suggest alternatives to existing practices" (p. 316). Therefore, the present study will consider ethnographic methodology as a tool to study the adaptation of Moroccan immigrant students in a Spanish high school.

Hymes and Gumperz (1964) define Ethnography of Communication (EC) as the study of language use as displayed in the daily life of particular speech communities. Some studies have already applied this in high school settings. For example, Duff (2002) combines EC and discourse analysis to show the contradictions and tensions in the discourse in an ethnically mixed mainstream course in a Western Canadian urban secondary school. Harklau (1994) conducted a three-and-a-half year EC of the learning experiences of four Chinese immigrant students of English as a Second Language who attended a high school in Northern California. He concluded that the marginalized and isolated position of the ESL program did not help the Chinese learners. McKay and Wong (1996, cited in Ellis and Barkhuizen, 2005, p. 302) examined the complex interrelationship between discourse and power in the social environment of four Chinese-speaking immigrant students in California who

were ESL learners. Godina (2004) conducted an EC research in the rural Midwest of the United States to study the dynamic links between literacy and identity in the literacy practices of students of Mexican backgrounds. This author applies Ogbu's Caste Theory (1978) to study the influence of colonialism in the internalized system of failure in these students. Finally, Del Valle (2004) studied language and literacy practices in the home and school of two young Puerto Rican women living in Chicago and demonstrated differences between mainstream and non-mainstream households.

The previous studies demonstrate that EC is a useful tool to study in-depth patterns of interaction and contexts. An understanding of these patterns can raise awareness of all the people and institutions involved in the process and, therefore, can lead to improved system-wide policies and practices. However, the methodology used in most of these studies does not make a clear connection between the research data and analysis and discussion. To correct some of these weaknesses, Ellis & Barkhuizen (2005) suggest giving specific details regarding the analysis or including the coding categories as appendices of the article. The EC studies mentioned above include some concerns about methodological challenges, such as the long term results, the deep involvement of the researcher in the process, validity of the data collection, and the length of detailed explanation required by the process, as well as other limitations inherent in qualitative research. The researcher took these concerns into consideration when methodological decisions were being made.

As for research in Spanish Compulsory Education settings, Poveda (2001) asserts that the only empirical EC studies conducted in Spain use the continuity-discontinuity framework, focus on Primary Education, and consider potential conflicts in the interactions or speech events in the community or school as the starting point for intervention programs. In Secondary Education, only studies regarding

reproduction and social stratification have been done. The persistent failure of the secondary level suggests that other approaches are necessary to address challenges.

Therefore, there is room for research that considers communicative interactions perceived as successful by different perspectives. The next section introduces theories in intercultural communication that can add new insights into the study of intercultural interactions in Spanish high school settings.

Contemporary Theories of Intercultural Communication

This section focuses on Identity Negotiation Theory (Ting-Toomey, 2005), as it contains concepts that are most relevant to the analysis of the data collected in this study. At the end I include some insights from Integrative Theory (Kim, 2001), and Co-Cultural Theory (Orbe, 1998), as they helped to complete the theoretical grounding of this research.

Identity Negotiation Theory (Ting-Toomey, 2005)

Ting-Toomey (2005) asserts that identity negotiation perspective emphasizes those particular identity domains that influence our everyday interactions (e.g., social class, sexual orientation, age, disability, and cultural and ethnic identity). However, this author focuses on identity negotiation theory with respect to cultural and ethnic identity.

In her discussion, Ting-Toomey (2005) emphasizes the influence of family and gender socialization on the identity of each individual. She also states that cultural patterns will play an important role in the process of building the social milieu (e.g. collective or communal versus individualistic societies).The author distinguishes between four different dimensions of the concept of identity. *Social identities* can include cultural or ethnic membership identity, gender identity, sexual orientation

identity, social class identity, age identity, disability identity, professional identity, etc. On the other hand, *personal identities* are defined as any unique attributes that we associate with our individual self in comparison to those of others. *Cultural identity* is one's sense of belonging or affiliation with the larger culture. It includes value content (i.e. the standards and expectations that we use to evaluate or assess others and ourselves) and cultural identity salience (i.e. the strength of our feelings of belonging to our larger culture). *Ethnic identity*, as defined by Ting-Toomey (2005), "involves a subjective sense of belonging to or identification with an ethnic group across time" (p. 215). Therefore, the sense of ethnic in-group membership will depend not only on the particular ethnic group with which an individual person is associated according to his/her national origin, race, religion, or language but also on the salience and the content of the individual's ethnic identity.

In an inclusive manner, Ting-Toomey (2005) defines *identity* as "reflective self-images constructed, experienced, and communicated by individuals in a particular interaction situation" (p. 217). The author refers to *negotiation* as "a transactional interaction process whereby individuals in an intercultural situation attempt to assert, define, modify, challenge, and/or support their own and other's desired self-images" (p. 217).

Derived from the previous definitions, Ting-Toomey (2005) suggests ten theoretical assumptions. However, all of them are embraced and summarized through the concept of "competent identity negotiation" as described in assumptions 9 and 10 as follows:

> Assumption 9 asserts that a competent identity negotiation process emphasizes the importance of integrating the necessary intercultural identity-based knowledge, mindfulness, and interaction skills to communicate appropriately and effectively with

> culturally dissimilar others. Assumption 10 asserts that satisfactory identity negotiation outcomes include the feelings of being understood, respected, and affirmatively valued. (p. 218)

The present study aims to study the quality of the intergroup and interpersonal relationships for two female Moroccan students in the context of a Spanish high school. Also, this research discusses the extent to which the two main participants are competent intercultural communicators. Therefore, the concepts present in assumption 9 and 10 will frame the theoretical background of this study. "Appropriateness" and "Effectiveness" will be the two categories used to analyze the behaviours of the two Moroccan main participants according to their perceptions of themselves and according to their network members. The network members' behaviours in their interaction with the main participants will also be studied.

"Being Understood", "Being Valued" and "Being Respected" are three other categories of this study's theoretical framework, since, according to Ting-Toomey (2005), these feelings are very important for building a new identity in a different culture. Finally, the study will connect the positive identity negotiation process of the two Moroccan girls with the positive perceptions and relationships of their network members at high school. The extent to which the two main participants develop this competent, multifaceted identity will be discussed under the categories of "Social Success" and "Academic Success".

Getting into detail, assumption 9 emphasizes the components of effective intercultural communication, which are *knowledge, mindfulness,* and *identity negotiation skills*. *Identity Knowledge Component* suggests that we need to understand the identity domains that are more salient for the person with whom we are communicating in order to understand her or him. *Knowledge* here refers to the in-

depth understanding of certain phenomena resulting from conscious learning as well as personal experiences and observations. *Mindfulness* is present when one is ready to change his/her own frame of reference and use new categories in order to understand cultural or ethnic differences. *Identity-Negotiation Skills* are defined as:

> The actual operational abilities to perform those behaviours that are considered appropriate and effective in a given cultural situation. Some examples are values clarification, mindful observation, mindful listening, verbal empathy, nonverbal sensitivity, identity support, facial expression management, conflict reframing, collaborative dialogue, and transcultural competence.(Ting-Toomey, 1999. 2004; Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2005, as cited in Ting-Toomey, 2005, p. 227)

Assumption 9 also refers to the process of identity negotiation in mindful intercultural communication, which should fulfill the expectations of the identity, in an appropriate and effective way (Spitzberg & Cupach, 1984; Cupach & Imahori, 1994; as cited in Ting-Toomey, 2005, p. 228). *Appropriateness* is defined as the degree to which the culture judges the behaviours as proper and matching culturally generated expectations. *Effectiveness* refers to the degree to which communicators achieve the outcome that they desire (i.e. a shared meaning). Therefore, the way that each communicator perceives and evaluates each other's communication performance is crucial in intercultural communication competence.

Assumption 10 focuses on desired outcomes, which, according to Ting-Toomey (2005), are *feelings of being understood, being respected,* and *being affirmatively valued* by the communicators. According to Identity Negotiation Theory (2005), communicators experience a high sense of identity satisfaction when they perceive that their desired identities are understood and valued. Moreover, *the feeling of being understood* is one of the most powerful means of being validated at

both group membership and personal identity levels. It is the result of empathy, but it does not necessarily imply agreement.

The feeling of being respected is present when practices and behaviours that are identity-based are considered equal, credible and legitimate to the same extent as those practices and behaviours of other group's members. It also implies a respectful and collaborative dialogue where other's salient identities are respected and treated with courtesy (Littlejohn & Domenici, 2001, as cited in Ting-Toomey, 2005,p. 229).

The feeling of being affirmatively valued is present if members of the larger culture make us feel "worth-while" as individuals, even when our minority group has a stigmatized identity in the larger culture. Therefore, when we accept others without judgment, we use identity-support messages to affirm others' alternative or marginalized worldviews, values, feelings, stories, and/or experiences (Laing, 1961, p. 83, as cited in Ting-Toomey, 2005, p. 229). Conversely, we reject others' personhood, experiences, thoughts or feelings, by using patronizing language, overgeneralized stereotyping messages or racist jokes.

Connecting assumption 9 with assumption 10, Ting-Toomey (2005) concludes that the positive or negative consequences of the identity negotiation process ultimately affect the development of quality intergroup and interpersonal relationships. Also, Ting-Toomey (2005) considers competent intercultural communicators as those who evolve to a multifaceted identity and adapt to the macro- and micro- scripts (e. g. situational, structural and historical scripts) that they need to face.

Limitations of Identity Negotiation Theory

Identity Negotiation Theory (Ting-Toomey, 2005) is a linear model that does not consider the dynamic process for identity building in an intercultural context. Also,

this theory does not give detailed explanations of all the factors that influence the process, as it is mainly focused on feelings and perceptions. This limitation is solved by considering Integrative Theory's (Kim, 2001) exhaustive description of the factors that influence cross-cultural adaptation.

Ting-Toomey (2005) provides a set of concepts that help to explain the issues related to an individual's identity in intercultural settings. However, many of the concepts that arise from Identity Negotiation Theory refer to personal characteristics that are very difficult to measure. Other theories, such as Co-Cultural Theory (Orbe, 1998) will be suggested to complement the description of personal characteristics by studying actual practices at the high schools.

Integrative Communication Theory (Kim, 2001)

Kim (2001) develops a systems approach with a set of assumptions that conceive cross-cultural adaptation as a case of "organized complexity" (p. 378). This approach considers the natural human tendency to look for an internal equilibrium when facing adversarial environmental conditions. In this way, Kim (2001) links the individual and the environment from a holistic perspective that integrates sociological, anthropological and psychological factors, and creates bridges between assimilationism and pluralism. Also, Kim's (2005) model proposes that self-adjustments encompass, in a single frame, the two opposite psychological forces of resisting change and embracing it. The organizing principles of this theory are based on the open-systems premises with respect to the basic nature of cross-cultural adaptation on the one hand, and the scientific approach to theorizing about the phenomenon, on the other.

Integrative Theory (Kim, 2001) introduces two key concepts: *Cross-cultural adaptation* and *stranger*. *Cross-cultural adaptation* is defined as "the process of

individuals, who despite relocating to an unfamiliar sociocultural environment, still relate with the environment functionally, and in a relatively stable and reciprocal manner" (Kim, 2005, p. 380). This concept embraces other similar but narrower terms such as assimilation, acculturation, coping, adjustment (psychological response to cross-cultural challenges), and integration (social participation in the host society). *Strangers* are "all individuals who enter and resettle in a new cultural or subcultural environment" (Kim, 2005, p.380). This concept includes more specific terms such as immigrants, refugees, and sojourners, and members of ethnic groups.

Finally, Kim (2001) identifies six main dimensions that determine the structure of a successful cross-cultural adaptation: (1) *Host Communication Competence*, which refers to the overlapping of the strangers' personal communication systems' and the host culture system; (2) *Host Social Communication* or the stranger's participation in the host environment via mass communication and interpersonal activities; (3) *Ethnic Social Communication,* defined as the informational material and emotional support of the ethnic community in the host society; (4) *Environment*, which includes the host receptivity, the expectations of the host culture of how strangers should behave and think, and the influence of the stranger's ethnic group on the host environment; (5) *Predisposition,* a concept that embraces the internal conditions of the strangers themselves prior to resettlement in the host society, and includes preparedness, ethnic proximity and personality; and (6) *Intercultural transformation*, which refers to the ability to function effectively in the host culture, with a strong psychological health and, finally, with an intercultural identity that distinguishes individuals from culture and acknowledges the universal common characteristics of all human beings.

The dimensions proposed by Kim (2001) will be helpful in the present study in identifying the main factors of success in cross-cultural adaptation, taking into account the internal or personal characteristics of the two main participants as well as environmental factors. These concepts will be included in this study in the main categories of "Social Success" and "Academic Success".

Co-Cultural Theory (Orbe, 1998)

According to Orbe and Spellers (2005), Co-Cultural Theory focuses on the description of behaviours in intercultural settings. Specifically, it refers to interactions among members of underrepresented and dominant groups[4] . Therefore, this theory can be used as a foundation to explore relationships of culture, power, and communication in a variety of contexts.

Orbe (1998) refers to underrepresented groups neutrally as "co-cultural groups," emphasizing with this term the author's equal consideration across groups. This framework empowers co-cultural groups by acknowledging their experiences and offers insight to dominant group members unfamiliar with some of the communication practices that co-cultural groups may employ (Gates, 2004, p. 7).

The theoretical foundation of Co-Cultural Theory builds upon five epistemological assumptions (Orbe, 1998). The first is that, in each society, there is a hierarchy that gives different levels of privileges to certain groups of people. The second is that dominant group members utilize these privileges to occupy positions of power. Thus, they build and maintain communication systems which perpetuate their

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[4] Orbe (1998) includes as underrepresented group members people of color; women; people with disabilities; those from a lower socioeconomic status; and gays, lesbians, and bisexuals. Instances of co-cultural communication are defined from the perspective of the underrepresented group members when they perceive cultural differences as salient during any given interaction. This could also include intragroup communication when another aspect of one's identity becomes a salient issue (e.g., an African American woman with a disability interacting with an able-bodied African American woman) (Orbe, 1998c, cited in Orbe and Spellers, 2005:174)

privileges. The third is that the dominant structures of communication, directly and indirectly, do not allow the progress of people who have a life experience different from the ones that are reflected in the public systems of communication. The fourth is that the experiences of co-cultural group members vary, but they all share a similar societal position. This position is marginalized and underrepresented due to the structures of the dominant society. The fifth is that members of co-cultural groups try to negotiate oppressive dominant structures. In order to do so, they strategically use specific communication behaviours.

According to Orbe (1996), the co-cultural communication model emerged with a total of 26 practices that co-cultural groups used during their interactions with dominant group members. The goal of this model was to acknowledge the different ways co-cultural group members used to negotiate larger dominant structures. The model explains that co-cultural group members select certain practices over others depending on the following: (1) their preferred outcome (assimilation, accommodation or separation); (2) their communicative approach (assertive, non-assertive or aggressive); (3) personal abilities; (4) fields of experience; (5) situational context; and (6) the perceived cost or reward associated with each practice.

The authors also point out that Co-Cultural Theory (1998) explains how specific (micro) practices were chosen and used by co-cultural group members. However, they suggest further research to uncover the deep (macro) structures that inform co-cultural communication. Additionally, Orbe's (1998) co-cultural practices' framework has rarely been used in educational settings, except for one study of international college students by Orbe and Groscurth (in press, as cited in Orbe & Spellers). Nevertheless, no studies have been conducted in a high school educational setting and within the (macro) context of the Spanish dominant society. Therefore,

discussion of this research will include the most significant co-cultural practices that arose during the data collection.

Model of analysis

This research, inspired by ethnographic methodology, examines the factors that influence the successful adaptation of two female Moroccan immigrant students in a Spanish high school. The two main participants of this study construct their new identity in the classroom setting through their interactions. As shown in *Figure 1.1,* this study focuses on these interactions from two different perspectives: (1) perceptions by *Party A* (the two main participants) of themselves and of their interactions with network members; (2) perceptions by *Party B* (the main participants' network members, i.e. immigrant classmates, Spanish classmates, teachers, educational personnel, and other personnel at the high school) of their interactions with the main participants. Outside the box is the researcher, *Party C*, who is observing these interactions from outside, but also interacting with the participants to some extent.

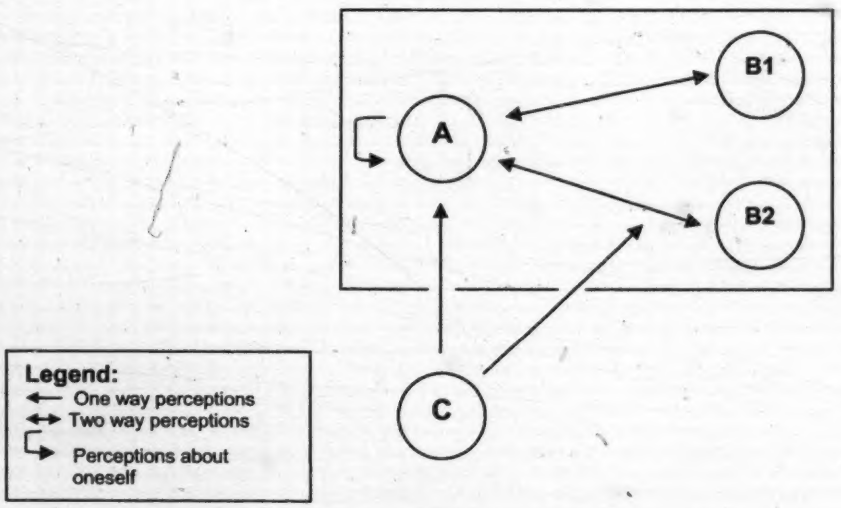

Figure 1. Interacting parties in the high school setting

Table 1

Description of the interacting parties in the high school setting

Party	Description
A	Main participants. The two female Moroccan high school students (2)
B	Main participants' network members.
	B1 - Intragroup network members: one non-Moroccan immigrant classmate, one Moroccan immigrant student, and four Spanish classmates.
	B2 - Intergroup network members: five teachers, the psychologist, the Vice-Principal, two cafeteria staff members, one administrative staff person, and the receptionist.
C	The researcher

Once the perspectives for the analysis are defined, emerging themes will be uncovered by following most of McCracken's (1988) suggested guidelines, such as sorting out important from unimportant data; examining logical relationships and contradictions from the data; identifying general themes and sorting them in hierarchical fashion; and determining how emerging themes from transcripts could be synthesized into themes (McCracken, 1988, as cited in Orbe, 2004, p. 136). After this process, many themes will arise; however, for the purpose of this research, only static perceptions about behaviours and feelings will be considered as main categories of study, as in Identity Negotiation Theory (Ting-Toomey, 2005). However, each main category embraces other themes, some of them unique, and some others recurring throughout the analysis. *Figure 1.2* below shows what themes will be analyzed.

in the Spanish educational system

Feelings		Behaviours	
Do the immigrant teenagers feel they are: • understood? • respected? • valued?	Are the immigrant teenagers said to be: • understood? • respected? • valued?	Do the immigrant teenagers think they act: • appropriately? • effectively? Do the immigrant teenagers think their Spanish network members' act: • appropriately? • effectively?	Are the immigrant teenagers perceived as acting: • appropriately? • effectively?

Figure 2. Themes of analysis regarding the main participants' adaptation in the Spanish high school

For example, an answer to the question "Do the immigrant teenagers think they act appropriately?" will be derived by analyzing the category of "Appropriateness" (as perceived by the main participants).

The theoretical framework of this study consists of seven main categories primarily based on Identity Negotiation Theory (Ting-Toomey, 2005): "Feeling Understood", "Feeling valued", and "Feeling Respected" related to perceived feelings, "Appropriateness" and "Effectiveness" related to behaviours, "Social Success" and "Academic Success" related to the perceptions about the extent to which the two main participants develop this competent multifaceted identity. The contents of the categories related to success will be complemented by the factors proposed by Kim (2001) to identify the main factors of success in cross-cultural adaptation, taking into account the personal characteristics of the two main participants as well as the

environmental factors. Tables 2 and 3 below include all the codes according to party A (main participants) and party B (network members) and the seven main categories.

Table 2

First party codes: Self-perceptions of the main participants (Adapted from Ting-Toomey, 2005)

A-BEUN-The feeling of being understood (as perceived by the main participants themselves): a main participant's perception that she is understood by others at a personal and social level. This means that the main participant feels a sense of validation in her personal identity and her identity as a member of the Moroccan ethnic group. Though this feeling has an empathetic impact, it does not necessarily imply that the other person agrees with the main participant's opinions, beliefs or that he or she would behave in the same way.

A-BERE-The feeling of being respected (as perceived by the main participants themselves): the degree to which the participants' desirable behaviours are being deemed legitimate, credible, and on equal footing with members of other groups. These desirable behaviours include personal and cultural components.

A-BEVA-The feeling of being affirmatively valued (as perceived by the main participants themselves): participants sense of being positively endorsed and being affirmatively embraced as "worth-while" individuals despite having different group-based identities or stigmatized identities.

A-AP- Appropriateness (as perceived by the main participants themselves): the degree to which the participants perceive behaviours as proper and matching the expectations generated by their ethnic culture (i.e., Moroccan ethnicity). This definition includes perceptions about the appropriateness of the behaviours performed by the main participants themselves and their network members.

A-EF-Effectiveness (as perceived by the main participants themselves): the degree to which participants perceive behaviours as helpful to achieve shared meanings with other communicator(s), i.e., they lead to a meaningful communication. This definition includes those behaviours that contribute to the achievement of the participant's goal to adapt successfully at the high school. The perceived behaviours can be performed by the main participants themselves, their network members, and the high school as an institution.

A-ACSU-Academic success (as perceived by the main participants): those behaviours and communication situations that the participants perceive as contributing factors for academic success or academic failure.

A-SOSU-Social success (as perceived by the main participants): those behaviours and communication situations that the participants perceive as contributing factors for social success or social failure.

Table 3

Second party codes: perceptions of the network members (Adapted from Ting-Toomey, 2005)[a]

B-BEUN-Main participants being understood (as perceived by others): the network participants' (students, teachers, and other staff) understanding of personal and social identities of the two main female Moroccan participants. This is observed when classroom participants interact and validate the main participants at personal and social levels. It has an empathetic impact, though it does not necessarily imply that the classroom participants agree with the main participants' opinions, beliefs, or that they would behave in the same way.

B-BERE- Main participants being respected (as perceived by others): the degree to which the network members perceive that the main participants' desirable behaviours are being deemed legitimate, credible, and on an equal footing with members of other groups. These desirable behaviours include personal and cultural components. The perceptions comprise opinions of the interviewed network members themselves and third parties' opinions.

B-BEVA- Main participants being affirmatively valuable (as perceived by others): The degree to which the members of their network perceive the main participants as being positively endorsed and being affirmatively embraced as "worth-while" individuals despite having different group-based identities or stigmatized identities.

B-AP-Appropriateness (as perceived by others): the degree to which participants' behaviours are regarded as proper and match the expectations generated by the Spanish culture.

B-EF-Effectiveness (as perceived by others): the degree to which network members perceive behaviours as helpful to achieve shared meanings with other communicator(s), i.e. there is a meaningful communication. This definition also includes those behaviours that contribute to the

achievement of the participant's goal to adapt successfully at the high school. The perceived behaviours can be performed by the main participants themselves, their network members, and the high school as an institution.

B-ACSU-Academic success (as perceived by others): those behaviours and communication situations that the network members perceive as contributing factors for academic success or academic failure.

B-SOSU-Social success (as perceived by others): those behaviours and communication situations that the network members perceive as contributing factors for social success or social failure.

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[a]Second party categories also comprise those comments that refer to Moroccan immigrants in general, or to the immigrant population in general, since the two main participants are members of both groups.

Data Collection

Participants

Interviews

A total of 29 interviews were conducted with the two main participants, Sarah and Jazmín, and their close network members at the high school. Each one of the two 14 years old main participants responded to two interviews. Among the main participants' peers, six classmates were interviewed as follows: a Moroccan female student, a Romanian female student, and four Spanish male students. Personnel at the high school was also interviewed as follows: five of the participants' teachers (three for mainstream courses[5], and two for compensatory courses), the pyschologist, the Vice-Principal of the high school, a member of the administrative staff, the receptionist, and two employees at the high school cafeteria. Appendix A includes the profiles of all the interviewees.

Classroom observations

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[5] *Mainstream courses* are defined here as those courses that the main participants share with the rest of the group, such as Math, Sciences, or Castilian.

The two main Moroccan female participants were observed twice in mainstream classes (Castilian and Valencian) and once in their Compensatory Castilian class[6]. During these observations the researcher took field notes that were used for purposes of discussion with the three teachers after the three classes.

The High School Setting

Benimasa (pseudonym[7])

This study was conducted in a public high school in a town (Benimasa) of approximately 35,000 inhabitants (El Mediterráneo, June, 23, 2006) in the province of Castellón de la Plana, Spain. According to Benimasa's town council, the immigrant population in this town grew from 3.5 to 16.1 per cent between 2001 and 2005. The Moroccan population had also increased from 0.8 to 5 per cent for the same period. Moroccans are the second immigrant group in Benimasa, after Romanians, who represent 6.5 per cent of Benimasa's population. In May, 2006, Benimasa registered 187 Moroccan people between the ages of 10 and 19 from a total of 1827 Moroccan residents (Benimasa's town council, 2006).

The high school

The present study was conducted in one of the two public secondary schools in Benimasa. There are four more secondary schools in the town, but they are compound[8] centers. However, a public high school was chosen because they tend to have the highest concentration of immigrant students, as mentioned in the introduction of this chapter.

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[6] *Compensatory language (i.e.* Castilian or Valencian) *courses* are targeted to students with special needs or language deficiencies (according to the teachers and the psychologist; these courses are attended by immigrant students during their first and second year in Spain).

[7] Pseudonyms are used to preserve the anonymity of the participants in the research.

[8] As explained in the introductory section, *compound centres* are those with public funding but privately run. Students do not pay fees, except for some specific services, such as Parents Association fees, extra-curricular activities, etc.

Colombaire High School (pseudonym) had a total of 642 students enrolled in May 2006. One hundred and two of the total students were immigrants. The two largest immigrant populations were Moroccans (35 students) and Romanians (32 students). Among Moroccan students, 15 male and 14 female were students of *Enseñanza Secundaria Obligatoria (ESO)* 'Compulsory Secondary Education' (aged 11 to 16), two females and one male were studying *Bachillerato* 'Bachelor'[9] (aged 16 to 18), and three male students were studying *Ciclos Formativos de Grado Medio* 'Professional Initiation' (aged 16 to 18).

The high school offers obligatory[10] high school education as well as obligatory post-high school and vocational studies. Traditionally, this high school was a centre that offered obligatory vocational education to students with academic and behaviour problems. For this reason, the traditional reputation of this center has been negative. Since Spanish educational reform, this institution also offers obligatory high school courses, but people from the local area tend to enrol their children at the more prestigious compound centers or at the other public high school if a compound centre is not available.

Understanding the academic organization is important. This high school has two different streams of study according to language: Valencian[11] (sections A and B) and Castilian (sections C and D). The letter indicates a group's academic proficiency and behaviour excellence (A is better than B, C is better than D). The two main participants in the present study attended Grade 3D for mainstream classes (Castilian

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[9] In Spain, primary school includes grades 1 to 6 (6 to 12-year-old students); obligatory high school includes grades 1 to 4 (12 to 16-year-old students); and post-obligatory high school includes two different options: (1) bachelor's degree, called *"Bachillerato"*, with grades 1 and 2 (16 to 18-year-old students) and (2) vocational training of medium level, called *"Ciclos Formativos de Grado Medio"*, with grades 1 and 2 (16 to 18-year-old students). See introductory chapter for further explanations on the educational system in Spain.

[10] See above.

[11] *Valencian* is the official name of the vernacular language at the Comunidad Valenciana. It is a dialect of Catalan.

stream, lower performance), as did most of the immigrant students. Grade 3D mainstream class is equivalent to the first year of junior-high, for 13 and 14-year-old students.

Interviews

The instruments used in the research were four semi-open interviews, with similar questions, adapted for the two main participants and the three different network members' groups: (1) Spanish peers, (2) immigrant peers, (3) personnel at the high school. All the interviews took place in the Castilian language. They were audio-recorded, transcribed and then some excerpts were translated into English. The interview items had been previously tested through a mini-pilot study that was conducted in Canada with Canadian and non-Canadian graduate and undergraduate students.Appendix B includes all the interview guides in Spanish and translated into English.

Mini-pilot study

A mini-pilot study was conducted at the University of Alberta (Canada) in Spring 2006 as it was the only accessible setting available at the time of research design. The mini-pilot study aimed to test if proposed instruments were able to uncover some of the cues for successful adaptation of non-Canadian undergraduate and graduate students.

The pilot study's instruments consisted of three in-depth tape-recorded interviews and an open-ended questionnaire. Two interviews were conducted with a Chinese undergraduate student who arrived in Canada at the age of 16 to start his high school studies, and who had been academically and socially successful[12] in his

[12] The definition of a *successful student* is based on the self-definition of the student, and the evidence shown along with his interviews. It is also based on the fact that he has been academically successful, he had completed high school and at the time of the interview, he was in his second semester at the university.

adaptation process up to that date. The third interview was conducted with this student's second language teacher (the only person from his network that could be reached). In addition, open-ended questionnaires were completed by ten graduate students (four Canadian and six non-Canadian) in order to uncover some of the key aspects to be analyzed in the larger study regarding the process of cultural adaptation to a new education system in a country different from country of origin.

In developing questionnaire items, both Canadian and non-Canadian students were consulted. Other items emerged from the intercultural communication literature (e.g. Lewthwaite, 1996; Kiesling & Bratt, 2005; Lustig & Koester, 2005) and from the researcher's personal experiences and observations. The questionnaire was divided into five sections: (A) personal information, (B) language background and experience abroad, (C) attitudes towards non-Canadian students, (D) cultural assumptions, and (E) adaptation skills. Open-ended questions were included in order to elicit unconstrained and unlimited written responses regarding personal experiences and attitudes.

The interviews were held to explore experiences and perceptions, following the sample of Lewthwaite (1996). Each one of the three interviews was different. Two interviews were conducted with the Chinese undergraduate student. In the first interview, an adaptation of Labov's description of personal networks for adolescent and young adults (Milroy & Gordon, 2003), and life-history approach (Agar, 1996) was taken into account. In the second interview, the open-ended questionnaire was used. This questionnaire was aimed at assessing the opinions of the student regarding adaptation in general and, also, to contrast his answers with the ones given in the printed copies by the graduate students. My intuition was that the different data collection process and the different ages during the integration periods would have an

influence on the responses. The third interview was conducted with the second language teacher. This one followed Hymes's paradigm of SPEAKING-setting, participants, ends, acts, key, instrumentalities, norms, and genre (Hymes, 1972). The teacher was asked to report her personal observations about this particular undergraduate student during the class time (without asking for grades or personal scores).

Contributions of the mini- pilot study to the design of the present research

Obviously, it can be said that Canada is a very different country from Spain. Therefore, some of the findings from the pilot study could not be directly applied in Spain. Moreover, the difference in age of the students from this pilot study and the larger one was significant. Also, the different educational level (university students in the mini-pilot study, high school students in the present research) needed to be taken into consideration. Nevertheless, very helpful information and feedback emerged from the pilot study and a variety of details were taken into account for the present study, as explained below.

Regarding methodological issues, the general impression from the participants was that the questions were too wide in scope. It would have been more succesful to conduct the questionnaires through tape-recorded interviews, as more in-depth information would have been gathered. On the other hand, conducting more than one interview with the main participant (the Chinese student) was very useful, as he felt more confident and his attitudes, assumptions, and sense of identity were made clearer through the process of two different interviews. Another relevant point was that it was very difficult to access the Chinese immigrant student's closest network. Finally, it became clear that there was a need to analyze, in detail, the communicative patterns

associated with the cultures of the participants and their influence in the high school interactions in the larger study.

Taking these limitations into account, the present research was designed with interviews and no questionnaires. More prompts were also included in each item to make the questions more comprehensive and focussed. This investigation also includes a deep analysis of the cultural patterns of Morocco and Spain.

The difficulties in accessing the closer network of the immigrant was solved in part by asking for the collaboration of the high school directors and getting permision to conduct the interviews during class-time. This institutional collaboration increased the level of participation in the study. However, Spanish students, teachers, and personnel were more willing to participate than immigrant students, and they therefore represent the majority of the interviews.

Data collection

When this study was designed, the collaboration of a high school institution in Spain became essential. The personal involvement of the psychologist at the high school where the study was conducted was one of the keys for successful data collection. He was asked to recruit four Moroccan students who had arrived in Spain to start their obligatory high school education. These four students were to be considered successful, according to the criteria of the psychologist himself and the Moroccan students' teachers. Following this criteria, four Moroccan female students (two were 14 years old and the other two were 15 years old) were recruited and, at the time of data collection, three of them happened to be in the same classroom. This particular classroom consisted of only four female students, three from Morocco and one from Romania, a male Moroccan student, and twelve Spanish male students.

The Moroccan main participants were asked to identify one immigrant and one non-immigrant classmate as a network member group participant. Only two immigrant peers were allowed by their parents to participate, whereas four male Spanish classmates obtained parental permision to do so. As for the personnel at the high school, the researcher approached them personally with the support of the psychologist.

The interviews took place in different empty classrooms during class-time hours and were audio recorded. Their duration ranged from 15 to 40 minutes, although most of them took about 30 minutes, and they were conducted in Castilian. All participants read and signed a consent form prior to the recording. Under-eighteen participants were asked for parental authorization prior to the interviews.

CHAPTER 2: DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter examines the perceptions of the two main participants, and their network members who participated in the study, according to the seven main categories of "Being Understood", "Being Valued", "Being Respected", "Appropriateness", "Effectiveness", "Academic Success", and "Social Success". The purpose of the analysis is twofold: (1) to find a possible pattern of identity-building by the main participants and (2) to describe to what extent the main participants' process is perceived as "successful" by themselves and their close network at the high school up to the date of data collection for this study.

First, the perceptions of the two main participants (the two female Moroccan students) are studied. Next, the intra-group members' perceptions, i.e. the perceptions of the main participants' peers (female Moroccan and non-Moroccan immigrant classmates, and male Spanish classmates) are examined. These outcomes are then contrasted with the inter-group perspectives (i.e. teachers, psychologist, the Vice-Principal, the receptionist, administration, and cafeteria staff at the high school). The intra- and inter-group network members are differentiated because the inter-group interactions and relationships will be more highly influenced by hierarchy and are more indirect and distant than the intra-group relationships (Ortí, 2004).

The complete process of analysis followed for each of the seven main categories consists of a definition of the category according to the main participants themselves and according to their network members. After each definition, an example excerpt is included. Then, tables summarize the information on each category as perceived by each party, and after analyzing the results, a short conclusion

on each sub-category is given. Finally, a general conclusion on the outcomes of each main category is offered. A full explanation of the complete process of analysis is included in the first category, "Being Understood". However, for reasons of space limitation, the outcomes from the other categories are presented in a more summarized format.

In each category, comments are classified according to how positive or negative the perception of the interviewee is in that specific category. For example, with the code BEUN (being understood), the possible options are: no comment on this point, not being understood, being somewhat understood, and being understood.

The coding and this classification are based on the researcher's personal interpretations. Nevertheless, for validity purposes, another researcher repeated the coding process in a complete interview corresponding to each party and it coincided with the researcher's criteria. However, since this is a qualitative pilot study, the numerical results are only suggestive. All interviewees were asked the same general questions. The lower proficiency in Spanish of the immigrant interviewees, particularly the two main participants, must be acknowledged. This limitation was resolved in part by meeting twice with the two main participants, Sarah and Jazmín, in order to give them more time to answer.

Finally, all translations in this thesis have been done by the main researcher and reviewed for accuracy by Dr. Robert Thornberry, a Canadian researcher with a high level of proficiency in Spanish.

Category 1 - "Being Understood"

From the main participants' perspective

The feeling of being understood (as perceived by the participants themselves), is the degree to which each participant perceives that, when she interacts with another person, this person understands her at personal and social levels, i.e. this person validates her personal identity and also validates her as a member of the Moroccan ethnic group. While it implies some empathy, it does not necessarily imply that the other person agrees with the main participant's opinions, beliefs or that he/she would behave in the same way.

Example 1-A1
S: Sarah (participante principal)
I: Investigadora
I-Y cómo ves a la gente, lo poquito que has visto? Es diferente la gente en Benimasa que la gente de Castellón o de Barcelona?
S-Sí
I-En qué?
S-Eh, la gente de Barcelona y Valencia y to, son muy simpáticos, sí, son más simpáticos que aquí y eso.
I-Que aquí en Benimasa?
S-Sí
I-Y por qué crees que es eso?
S-Porque cuando le preguntas alguien aquí dicen vete no sé qué, no sé. No todos, de Benimasa no todos, hay gente, racista.
I-Si,si
S-En cuando fui Valencia o Barcelona, cuando le preguntas a alguien te dice: aquí no sé què no sé qué, vale? Eso.

Translation
S: Sarah (main participant)
I: Researcher
I-And how do you see the people, the very few that you have seen? Are the people from Benimasa different from the people from Castellón or Barcelona?
S-Yes
I-In what ways?
S-eh, people in Barcelona and Valencia and so, they are very friendly, yes, they are more friendly than [they are] here and that.
I-You mean than here in Benimasa?
S-Yes
I-And why do you think so?
S-Because when you ask someone here something they tell you to go away, and this and that. Not everybody, not everybody from Benimasa, there are people, racist people.
I-Yes, yes.
S-When I went to Valencia or Barcelona, when you ask someone they tell you: here, this and that, o.k.? That.

This example is classified as Sarah "feeling somewhat understood" as Sarah seems to imply that, in Benimasa, she finds a lack of understanding from some people, whereas she feels herself (implicitly) understood by other people. Table 1-A below shows that both Jazmín and Sarah refer to some lack of understanding and that Sarah makes more of these comments.

Table 1-A

Being understood as perceived by the main participants (number of comments)

Observing and observed party	Jazmín	Sarah	Total
Not being understood	0	1	1
Being somewhat understood	1	1	2
Being understood	0	1	1
Total number of comments	1	3	4

Analysis

Sarah and Jazmín consider that there are *algunos bromistas* 'some jokers' (Example 1- A2, see Appendix C), or *muchos son racistas* 'many of them are racists' among their male Spanish classmates, (examples 1-A1 above and 1- *A2,* in Appendix C).

Sarah also expresses how happy she is with her relationship with her teachers in Spain, who seem interested and show understanding towards her (example 1-A3, Appendix C), but she also asserts very strongly how disappointed she is over the behaviours of some male Spanish classmates' (example 1-A4, Appendix C). Moreover, when the researcher asks if male Spanish classmates could help them (i.e.immigrant classmates) at all, Sarah's answer is quick and clear *pos que te deja en paz* 'that they leave you alone'(example 1-A4, Appendix C).

To summarize, Sarah and Jazmín seem to perceive positive and negative attitudes and behaviours coming from their male Spanish classmates and from

Spanish people in general, ranging from comprehension to intolerance and racism. Sarah also seems to appreciate their teachers' closeness. Therefore, although both girls feel just "somewhat understood" in their network at the high school, it is obvious from their comments that they also acknowledge some understanding from some of their male classmates, their teachers, and other people. Sarah has more comments than Jazmín; which is a recurrent pattern for all the categories.

From the network members' perspective

Main participants being understood (as perceived by others): the degree to which the members of the main participants' network perceive that the two main participants' are validated on both levels of group membership and personal identity. Again, there is an element of empathy, though it does not necessarily imply agreement. Included are comments that refer to what extent the network members themselves validate Sarah and Jazmín, as well as network members' perceptions about the degree to which Sarah and Jazmín are validated when they interact with third parties.

Comments that refer to a particular main participant (Sarah or Jazmín) and those comments that refer to them both without distinction are distinguished in all sub-categories below that refer to the perceptions of network members. Comments that refer to Moroccan immigrant students are differentiated from comments about immigrant population in general (for further detail, see tables 1-B1, 1-B2, 1-B3, and 1-B4).

Example 1- B1

M: Marisa (compañera rumana)
I: Investigadora
I: Muy bien. Ahora vamos a aconsejar a los estudiantes españoles para que ayuden a los estudiantes inmigrantes a adaptarse. Imagínate que ahí tienes a tus compañeros de clase y les vamos a aconsejar. A ver, qué les decimos.
M: Pos que si hay alguna otra persona que insulta, que nos insulta a nosotras, que ellos nos defiendan, aunque la otra persona sea española.
I: O sea, que sea como grupo.

M: Sí, que estemos más unidos y que no nos peleemos entre nosotros sino con los otros.
I: Muy bien, muy bien. Alguna cosa más que les podemos decir para que os ayuden, sois nuevas no conocéis cosas, como el idioma...
M: Que nos digan cosas, y por si nos equivocamos, por ejemplo o no dices bien una palabra, que nos digan cómo es y que...
I: O sea, a ti te gustaría que te corrigieran más ellos?
M: Sí.
I: Y ellos cuando os equivocáis que hacen, no dicen nada, se ríen o os corrigen?
M: Algunos nos corrigen y otros se ríen.
I: Y con quiénes sois más amigas, con los que os corrigen o con los que se ríen?
M: Con todos @@

Translation
M: Marisa (female Romanian classmate)
I: Researcher
I: Very well. Now we are going to give advice to male Spanish students on how to help immigrant students adapt. Imagine that here you have your classmates and we are going to give them advice. Let's see, what do we tell them?
M: Well, that if there is some other person who insults, who insults us (referring to all the female immigrant classmates) then they defend us, even if the other person is Spanish.
I: That you work as a group, let's say.
M: Yes, that we were more united, and that we do not fight among us but with others.
I: Very good, very good. Something else that we can tell them to help you, you are new, you don't know things, like the language...
M: That they tell us things, and if we make mistakes, for example, or you don't say a word properly, that they tell us how it goes and that...
I: Let's say, you would like them to correct you?
M: Yes.
I: And them, when you make a mistake what do they do, do they say nothing, do they laugh or correct you?
M: Some of them correct us and others, they laugh.
I: And with whom are you better friends, with those that correct you or those who laugh?
M: With all of them [all male Spanish classmates]@@

In this example, Marisa gives advice to male Spanish classmates about how to help immigrant female students in their classroom. She acknowledges that some of the boys already help them, and she perceives a good relationship even with the boys that laugh at the immigrant girls. Some other parties share Marisa's vision, but not all.

Intra-group network members

Party: "Female non-Moroccan immigrant classmate"

Below is an analysis of the only comment from a female Romanian student, Marisa, who is the only interviewee from the group of "female non-Moroccan immigrant classmates".

Table 1-B1

Being understood as perceived by the intragroup members I (number of comments)

Observing party	female Non-Moroccan immigrant classmate (1)					
Observed party	Jazmín	Sarah	Both	Moroccan immigrants	Immigrants in general	Total
Not being understood	0	0	0	0	0	0
Being somewhat understood	0	0	1	0	0	1
Being understood	0	0	0	0	0	0
N. total comments	0	0	1	0	0	1

Analysis

Only one of Marisa's comments is classified as "being somewhat understood" (table 1-B1) and it corresponds to Sarah's and Jazmín's comments. However, in *Example 1-B1* above, Marisa seems to expect more from her male classmates and she seems willing to try to solve problems together with them and to unite as a team, instead of keeping separate.

It can be concluded that Marisa, like Jazmín and Sarah, also acknowledges that some male classmates are racist whereas others are helpful and she would like them to be more supportive and good friends with the female immigrant classmates.

Party: "Female Moroccan immigrant classmate"

Karima is the only female Moroccan immigrant classmate in this study. She is enrolled in a special program for secondary school students with special needs. She is 16 years old (whereas Jazmín and Sarah are 14 years old), and attends Castilian Compensatory class with Jazmín and Sarah. She also attends classes of Gymnastics, Technology, Music, and Plastic Arts with the mainstream group of 3D (third grade at secondary school).

Karima does not have any comments regarding the degree to which the main participants are understood by her or others. This could be related to the fact that during the interview she tends to talk more about herself and her own problems. For the same reason, there will be other categories that do not include any comments from Karima.

Party: "Male Spanish classmates"

Four male students who attended classes with the group 3D were interviewed. Their self-chosen pseudonyms are Alejandro, Cristiano, Manolo, and Felipe. They shared mainstream classes with Sarah and Jazmín. From those four students, Alejandro has a special identity, as his mother is Spanish and his father is Moroccan. However, Alejandro is considered Spanish because he was born in Spain and he has spent all his life there. However, this special feature has an impact on Alejandro's comments, as he changes identity ascriptions, sometimes identifying himself as belonging to the Moroccan culture and other times as a Spaniard with a strong empathy towards Moroccans.

Table 1 B-2

Being understood as perceived by the intragroup members II (number of comments)

Observing party	Male Spanish classmates (4)					
Observed party	Jazmín	Sarah	Both[a]	Moroccan immigrants	Immigrants in general	Total
Not being understood	0	0	0	2	1	3
Being somewhat understood	0	0	2	1	3	6
Being understood	0	0	3	2	1	6
N. total comments	0	0	5	5	5	15

[a] Both" includes those comments that refer to both main participants, Jazmín and Sarah.

Analysis

The numbers indicate that male Spanish classmates do not distinguish between Jazmín and Sarah in their comments. However, this might be influenced by the way in which the questions were formulated, asking about both students without distinction first and then about each one in particular. The most positive comments refer to "Both", while the most negative are about immigrants in general and Moroccan immigrants in particular (table 1-B2).

The four male Spanish classmates mention that they can understand the two female Moroccan students' emotional stress of coming to a new culture. Cristiano refers to the special academic needs of Sarah and Jazmín (Appendix C, examples 1-B2 and 1-B6). He and the other boys assert that they can perfectly understand why Jazmín and Sarah receive adapted materials and take special exams. Cristiano observes that the girls have problems with courses like Valencian and Castilian Literature, but he can not understand why the girls keep separated and ask for advice from their friend Selma (a female Moroccan classmate who has been living in Spain for eight years), instead of asking the teacher (Appendix C, example 1-B6). Manolo explains that he has a good relationship with the two girls and though he did not like them speaking Moroccan and laughing and pointing out people at the beginning of the course, it does not bother him now (example 1-B9).

Regarding the relationship between Sarah and Jazmín and third parties (other than the male Spanish classmates interviewed), male Spanish classmates perceive positively that Jazmín and Sarah receive special attention from teachers and the high school. However, Alejandro mentions that some of the male Spanish classmates say that *porque sea marroquí no tienes que ponerle cosas más fáciles* 'just because they are Moroccan, you (teachers, the high school) should not make things easier for them'.

Alejandro thinks that those who complain do so because they are also having difficulty and want things made easier (Appendix C, example 1-B5). Cristiano thinks that some of the teachers understand the special needs of the two Moroccan girls, but others have a racist attitude. These attitudes will be studied in detail in the category of "Appropriateness".

As for Moroccan immigrants in general, there is a significant difference between Alejandro's position of total empathy (Appendix C, example 1-B3) and the other three boys, who assert that they do not understand Moroccan cultural traditions and norms and find them ineffective and inappropriate in most cases. Further insights on these opinions will be offered in the analysis of the "Effectiveness" and "Appropriateness" categories.

When referring to immigrants in general, male Spanish classmates express some understanding and compassion. However, Felipe, Manolo, and Cristiano criticize that too many immigrants are arriving in Spain, many of them illegally. For example, Cristiano asserts that he understands that immigrants have hard lives in their countries of origin and they look for a better life in Spain, but they should not come in *pateras*[13] (Appendix C, example 1-B7,). In other parts of the interview, Cristiano also mentions that some immigrants are hard workers but some others do not work but make trouble and become criminals. Felipe also complains about the fact that recently, lots of immigrants are arriving in Spain and *España no hace nada, España sólo carita, es muy flojo* 'Spain does nothing, Spain only presents a nice face, it is too weak' (Appendix C, example 1-B9). It can be inferred that these comments, especially the last one from Felipe, are strongly influenced by adult opinions.

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[13] *Patera* is a small boat, with flat bottom and without keel (*Diccionario de la Real Academia de la Lengua*, 22 Ed., 2001 [the researcher's translation]). Also, this is the colloquial name used by people in Spain to refer to those boats that illegally bring immigrant people from North Africa through the Gibraltar Strait and from the Mediterranean area (retrieved May 17, 2007 from wikipedia.com [the researcher's translation]).

In conclusion, male Spanish classmates express certain understandings of Sarah's and Jazmín's situations as newcomers who need special help at school, although they do not understand some of their behaviours, such as their tendency to isolate themselves and only relate to each other. They also cannot understand some behaviours related to the Muslim religion. When referring to Moroccan immigrants and immigrants in general, the Spanish classmates acknowledge some understanding and compassion, but they cannot understand and dislike the massive and illegal arrival of immigrants to Spain.

Inter-group members of Sarah's and Jazmín's network

Party: "Teachers"

Five teachers were interviewed, three of them (Gauss, Elena, and Valenciana) were teaching mainstream courses to the group 3D to which Sarah and Jazmín belonged. Gauss was the tutor and taught Physics and Chemistry; Elena taught Castilian language and literature; and Valenciana taught the Valencian language. These three teachers taught in the same classroom.

The other two teachers, Papallona and Martha, taught Compensatory language courses. Papallona taught Compensatory Castilian and she had Jazmín and Sarah four hours per week. Martha taught Compensatory Valencian and she taught Jazmín and Sarah two hours per week. The schedule of these Compensatory classes always coincided with mainstream courses. This created some problems that are revealed in the interviews.

Table 1-B3

Being understood as perceived by the intergroup members I (number of comments)

Observing party	Teachers (5)					
Observed party	Jazmín	Sarah	Both	Moroccan immigrants	Immigrants in general	Total
Not being understood	0	0	1	0	3	4
Being somewhat understood	0	0	1	2	2	5
Being understood	0	1	3	0	0	4
N. total comments	0	1	5	2	5	13

Analysis

Teachers tend to refer to both main participants without distinction and they perceive them mainly as understood. The most negative comments refer to immigrants in general (table 1-B3).

Teachers express their understanding and the need for special efforts to help the main participants because of their special circumstances of being female Moroccan newcomers. Papallona and Gauss try to have a closer relationship with the two girls. Papallona explains that she assumes that closeness is part of her role as the Castilian Compensatory teacher, as she spends more time with Sarah and Jazmín than other teachers, and she teaches in a class with only six students. Also, her instruction and the course content are very personalized to each student (Appendix C, example 1-B10). Gauss also expresses his closeness to the class in general and to Sarah and Jazmín in particular, as he listens to their complaints during tutoring hours (Appendix C, example 1-B13).

Elena and Gauss also mention that they try to promote class participation by Sarah and Jazmín. Gauss explains that he tries to treat them the same as the rest but he also asks them more direct questions in order to check the understanding of not only

immigrant students with special difficulties, like Sarah and Jazmín, but also other male Spanish classmates (Appendix C, example 1-B14). Elena asserts that she asks for Sarah's and Jazmín's participation in class every time they raise their hand. However, Elena also admits that she does not know what is more effective in helping the two Moroccan girls and immigrant students in general, and she would like more training on how to deal with immigrant students (Appendix C, example 1-B16). This issue is considered a handicap by Elena, in contrast to Gauss, who asserts that, up to the present, he did not face any misunderstandings where he would have needed any extra knowledge in dealing with immigrant students from different cultures. However, he is willing to learn if necessary (Appendix C, example 1-B14).

In discussing the relationship between male Spanish classmates and the two main participants, Gauss explains that the Spanish boys are curious about some Moroccan traditions that they cannot understand, mostly those related to the Muslim religion, such as not eating pork (Appendix C, example 1-B14). Gauss also mentions that Spanish classmates do accept the slower path for Sarah and Jazmín, because the boys themselves also have learning difficulties (Appendix C, example 1-B15).

As for the relationship between Moroccan and Spanish students in general, Papallona mentions that the hijab (the Islamic headscarf) is a barrier to relating to Spanish students, although most of them are used to it. Martha also acknowledges the obstacles that Moroccan immigrants face in integrating into Spanish reality because of the cultural differences. She mentions the example of the differences between the Spanish calendar and the Muslim feast days (Appendix C, example 1-B11).

When mentioning the understanding of immigrant students in general, Elena refers to the lack of effort from both two sides: Spanish society and the newcomers. She also mentions how sometimes immigrant students in general tend to adopt a

position of victims, as if the immigrants themselves did not have any agency or responsibility in the adaptation process (Appendix C, example 1-B12). As for the high school professionals, Papallona considers that teachers should make efforts to adapt the contents of their courses to suit the immigrants' needs during their first months at the Spanish high school, as immigrant newcomers make special efforts by attending "Compensatory" classes that overlap with the schedule of mainstream classes (Appendix C, example 1-B17).

In summary, teachers perceive a general lack of understanding towards immigrant students in Spanish society in general, among teachers themselves, and, to a lesser extent, by the Spanish students. When referring to Moroccan immigrants, many teachers not only do not understand some Muslim cultural traditions and norms, but they disapprove of them. However, these strong positions will be studied in depth in the "Appropriateness" section.

When referring to Sarah and Jazmín in particular, teachers mention the language and social difficulties that they have, as well as the teachers' personal efforts to help and understand the two girls. Finally, when referring to immigrant students in general, teachers acknowledge particular difficulties because of language and a lack of basic knowledge. However, there is a perceived distinction between those teachers who try to adapt contents and instruction to the special needs of immigrant newcomers with low knowledge of Castilian, and others who treat these new students like the rest of their classmates, without making any distinction.

Parties: "psychologist, Vice-Principal, and administration staff".

The psychologist, Vice-Principal, and administration staff are all included in the same table in this section. Their comments are summarized together because all four parties share a commonality in that they do not deal personally with the main

participants on a daily basis. Therefore, in most cases throughout the interviews, these parties talk only about Moroccan immigrants or immigrants in general. However, in other categories the comments of these parties are grouped differently for reasons of clarity and detail.

In this particular category of "Being Understood", the cafeteria staff and the receptionist did not have any comments; for this reason, these parties do not appear on Table 1-B4 below. The other parties have positive and negative comments related to their understanding of immigrants in general and Moroccan immigrants in particular, as the table shows.

Table 1-B4

Being understood as perceived by the intergroup members II (number of comments)

Observing party	Psychologist (1)	Vice- Principal (1)	Admin.(1)	Total
Observated party	Moroccan immigrants	Moroccan immigrants	Immigrants in general	
Not being understood	0	0	1	1
Being somewhat understood	1	1	0	2
Being understood	0	0	1	1
N. total comments	1	1	2	4

Analysis

The psychologist comments that there is a lack of understanding of Moroccan immigrant students, particularly female students, among their families (Appendix C, example 1-B18). The Vice-Principal explains her personal efforts to understand and adapt to Moroccan newcomers in the high school. One example she offers is that she is planning to organize Moroccan language courses. As a teacher, the Vice-Principal highlights a lower level of knowledge of Moroccan immigrant students. She tries to adapt by reducing content to lower levels and repeating what she says many times

(Appendix C, example 1-B20). On the other hand, the Vice-Principal openly expresses her appreciation of many Moroccan cultural features, with the exception of the Moroccan macho[14] behaviour which she considers unacceptable. This Vice-Principal's comment and many others referring to unacceptable behaviours are analyzed in the category of "Appropriateness".

The administration staff member comments that immigrant students in general do not feel understood and get angry when they make mistakes when filling out official forms (Appendix C, example 1-B19). She also expresses her understanding of the special needs of the immigrant students and states that she repeats everything as many times as necessary (Appendix C, example 1-B21).

In conclusion, the psychologist perceives Moroccan immigrants as not understood at home, somewhat understood at the high school and suffering longer, harder processes of adaptation in wider contexts outside the high school. On the other hand, the Vice-Principal pinpoints her efforts of compromised understanding at the high school, such as proposing Moroccan courses or reducing levels of language and repeating explanations. Repetition when necessary is also practiced by Sofia in her Administration position. As for immigrants in general, the Administration staff adds that some immigrant students do not feel understood if they do not receive explicit oral directions.

Summary: Being Understood

In general, it seems the closer the relationship, the higher the level of understanding. Indeed, most comments from network members that refer to the personal relationship with Jazmín and Sarah are quite positive. Classmates and

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[14] *Macho* is and adjective that means behaving forcefully or showing no emotion in a way traditionally thought to be typical of a man (Cambridge Advanced learner dictionary, Cambridge University Press, 2007).

teachers understand the special difficulties that Sarah and Jazmín face because of language and cultural differences. The main participants do not fully perceive this appreciation and both complain that some classmates are racist or laugh at them, and that some teachers are also racist.. This racism and lack of appreciation is also perceived by their Romanian friend Marisa and the male Spanish classmate Cristiano.

In comments that refer to Moroccan immigrants, network members highlight a lack of understanding mostly related to Muslim traditions in some countries and their gender norms. However, male Spanish classmates show empathy with the conditions of poverty in the homeland of Moroccan immigrants. Conversely, the psychologist mentions those Moroccan females who challenge their home culture and manage to adapt to Spanish society by changing some behaviour, but then have to face a lack of understanding from their parents.

When talking generally about immigrants, there are both negative and positive comments. Male Spanish classmates show some rejection towards the massive arrival of the illegal immigrant population, although they are willing to give advice to help new immigrant students feel better at school. Some teachers refer to their efforts to understand and adapt to immigrant newcomers at the high school, although other teachers comment on their lack of awareness in intercultural communication, and it is also mentioned that there are some teachers that treat immigrant students as Spaniards without any adaptation at all.

Category 2 - "Being Valued"

From the main participants' perspective

The feeling of being affirmatively valued (as perceived by the main participants themselves), is the participant's sense of being positively endorsed and

being affirmatively embraced as "worth-while" individuals despite having different group-based identities or stigmatized identities.

Example A1

S: Sarah (participante principal)

I: Investigadora
I: Aha, te ayudan con cosas. Muy bien, y ahora los profesores, cómo pueden ayudarte los profesores, vamos a darles consejos a los profesores. Entonces, vamos a pedirles ayuda a los profesores, profesores, me podéis ayudar, como pueden ayudarnos los... [profesores].
S: Pos cuando vienes de otro país, te hablan, cómo te llamas, ya vamos a ayudarte, no sé qué, te dan fotocopias, para aprender, esto cómo se llama, no sé qué, te ayudan así, te dices va, puedes ir conmigo a la biblioteca, para saber eso, cuando quieres algo me lo dices, eso y te ayuda.

Translation

S: Sarah (main participant)
I: Researcher
I: Aha, they help you with things. Very good, and now the teachers, how can teachers help you, let's give advice to the teachers. Then, we are going to ask the teachers for help, teachers, can you help me, how can they help us...[the teachers]?
S: well, when you come from another country, they talk to you, what's your name, we are going to help you, I don't know, they give you photocopies, to learn, this is called that way, I don't know, they help you this way, they say to you come on, you can come with me to the library, to know this, whenever you want something you tell me and he/she helps you.

This example is coded as Sarah feeling that she is "Being Valued". Sarah mentions some positive behaviours of the teachers that she likes and that help her to adapt. All these behaviours refer to personal contact.

Table 2-A

Being valued as perceived by the main participants (number of comments)

Observing and observed party	Jazmín	Sarah	Total
Not being valued	0	1	1
Being somewhat valued	1	0	1
Being valued	0	1	1
Total number of comments	1	2	3

There are two comments from Sarah and one from Jazmín (table 2-A). Both girls seem not to feel valued when relating to some male Spanish students who are racists and make jokes. Sarah mentions some interaction with male Spanish

classmates despite Muslim religion prohibitions. Sarah also feels valued when teachers ask her questions and care about her.

From the network members' perspective

Arabic immigrant students being affirmatively valued (as perceived by others): the degree to which the members of their network perceive the participants as being positively endorsed and being affirmatively embraced as "worth-while" individuals despite having different group-based identities or stigmatized identities.

Example 2-B1

M: Marisa (compañera de clase rumana)
I: Investigadora
I: Muy bien. Ahora vamos a aconsejar a los estudiantes españoles para que ayuden a los estudiantes inmigrantes a adaptarse. Imagínate que ahí tienes a tus compañeros de clase y les vamos a aconsejar. A ver, qué les decimos?
M: Pos que si hay alguna otra persona que insulta, que nos insulta a nosotras, que ellos nos defiendan, aunque la otra persona sea española.
I: O sea, que sea como grupo.
M: Sí, que estemos más unidos y que no nos peleemos entre nosotros sino con los otros.
I: Muy bien, muy bien. Alguna cosa más que les podemos decir para que os ayuden, sois nuevas no conocéis cosas, como el idioma...
M: Que nos digan cosas, y por si nos equivocamos, por ejemplo o no dices bien una palabra, que nos digan cómo es y que...
I: O sea, a ti te gustaría que te corrigieran más ellos?
M: Sí.
I: Y ellos cuando os equivocáis que hacen, no dicen nada, se ríen o os corrigen?
M: Algunos nos corrigen y otros se ríen.
I: Y con quiénes sois más amigas, con los que os corrigen o con los que se ríen?
M: Con todos @@

Translation
M: Marisa (female Romanian classmate)
I: Researcher
I: Very well. Now we are going to give advice to the male Spanish students on how they can help immigrant students adapt. Imagine that here you have your classmates and we are going to give them advice. Let's see, what do we tell them?
M: Well, that if there is some other person who insults, who insults us [referring to all the female immigrant classmates] then they defend us, even if the other person is Spanish.
I: That you work as a group, let's say.
M: Yes, that we were more united, and that we do not fight among ourselves but with others.
I: Very good, very good. Something else that we can tell them to help you, you are new, you don't know things, like the language...
M: That they tell us things, and if we make a mistake, for example, or you don't say a word properly, that they tell us how it goes/is and that...
I: That is to say, you would like them to correct you?
M: Yes.
I: And they, when you make a mistake what do they do, do they say anything, do they laugh or do they correct you?
M: Some of them correct us and others, they laugh.
I: And with whom are you better friends, with those that correct you or those who laugh?
M: With all of them @@

This example is coded as Jazmín and Sarah (and Marisa) "being valued" by the male Spanish classmates, because Marisa mentions that some classmates help them (the immigrant girls at the classroom) whereas others laugh at them, but the relationship with all of them is good. However, Marisa would prefer to have a team spirit among all peers in the classroom.

Intra-group member parties

Party: "Female non-Arabic immigrant classmate"

Table 2-B1

Being valued as perceived by the main participants (number of comments)

Observing party	female Non-Arabic immigrant classmate (1)		
Observed party	Both	Immigrants in general	Total
Not being valued	0	1	1
Being somewhat valued	0	0	0
Being valued	1	0	1
N. total comments	0	1	2

As table 2-B1 shows, Marisa maintains that some teachers attribute different value to immigrant and non immigrant students and she complains about it. Moreover, she also would prefer a closer relationship with male Spanish classmates, although she finds that she, Sarah and Jazmín have a good relationship with all of them. Therefore, it could be concluded that Marisa finds fewer problems with peers than with some teachers.

Party: "Male Spanish classmates"

Table 2-B2

Being valued as perceived by the intragroup members II (number of comments)

Observing party	male Spanish classmates (4)					
Observed party	Jazmín	Sarah	Both	Moroccan immigrants	Immigrants in general	Total
Not being valued	0	1	3	2	0	6
Being somewhat valued	0	0	0	1	0	1
Being valued	1	0	0	0	1	3
N. total comments	1	1	3	4	1	10

Male Spanish classmates mainly refer to Jazmín and Sarah and to Moroccan immigrants in general, and most comments are coded as "not being valued" (table 2-B2).

It seems that male Spanish students do not consider Sarah and Jazmín the same as other classmates. The only situation when boys interact with the two Moroccan girls is to ask for help with specific class materials, but they are not willing to actually share group work with them, and many times they insult each other, specially when interacting with Sarah. As for Moroccan immigrants in general, male Spanish classmates point to the existence of racist attitudes on the part of Spanish society. However, Alejandro perceives a positive change in the attitude of Spanish society, and Cristiano asserts that Spanish girls are more tolerant and easy-going with Moroccan female students.

Inter-group member parties

Party: "Teachers"

Table 2-B3

Being valued as perceived by the intergroup members I (number of comments)

Observing party	Teachers (5)					
Observed party	Jazmín	Sarah	Both	Arabic Immig.	Immigrants in general	Total
Not being valued	0	0	0	0	0	0
Being somewhat valued	0	0	2	0	0	2
Being valued	0	0	2	0	4	6
N. total comments	0	0	4	0	4	8

Teachers refer to both main participants or to immigrants in general without specific comments on the Moroccan ethnic group, and most of their comments are about "being valued" (table 2-B3).

The Compensatory Castilian teacher and the tutor also try to be closer to the two main participants to help them feel more confident in their classes. All teachers perceive themselves as egalitarian and respectful with immigrant students. Teachers also value the positive effects of having immigrant students at the high school, because Spanish students can learn a lot from immigrants coming from different cultures. Conversely, negative comments arise about the aggressiveness and use of insults in 3D classroom interactions among classmates in general and the barriers that arise when Jazmín and Sarah speak Arabic in class. These barriers cause the girls to be perceived differently by their classmates.

Parties: "psychologist, Vice-Principal, administration, and cafeteria staff "

Table 2-B4

Being valued as perceived by the intergroup members II (number of comments)

Observing party	Receptionist	Vice- Principal (1)		
Observated party	Immigrants In general	Moroccan immigrants	Immigrants in general	Total
Not being valued	0	0	0	0
Being somewhat valued	0	1	0	1
Being valued	1	0	2	3
N. total comments	1	1	2	4

In table 2-B4, comments referring to immigrants in general are very positive, whereas the only one coded as "being somewhat valued" refers to the Arabic ethnic group. Other personnel at the high school coincide with teachers in their perception of the positive influence of immigrant newcomers to the high school. As for Moroccan immigrants in general, there is only one comment from the Vice-Principal, who shows a positive appreciation for the different and rich Arabic culture in the past; however, she criticises the Arabic immigrant population arriving in Spain at present for their unwillingness to adapt.

Summary: Being Valued

The two main participants feel valued by some teachers and some classmates, whereas they complain about some male Spanish classmates who laugh at them and are racist. It seems that this bad relationship with many Spanish boys together with Muslim norms (about girls avoiding interaction with boys) leads Sarah and Jazmín to assert that they prefer to keep a distance from the boys. However, as indicated in the category of "Being Understood", Sarah challenges this separation practice by

interacting and arguing with male Spanish students. Jazmín instead, complains about Spanish boys' behaviours but she does not respond to their provocations or attacks.

Marisa, the female Romanian classmate, also asserts that in some cases the relationship with teachers is very good, but it can also be very distant when the latter are racists, and do not consider immigrant students as "worth-while" as Spanish students. With regards to the interaction with Spanish male classmates, Marisa also agrees with Sarah and Jazmín that some boys are nice and helpful whereas others insult the girls and laugh at them. However, Marisa perceives the relationship with all boys as good, and she would like male classmates to consider the girls more like part of their group and defend them when necessary.

Male Spanish classmates relate with female Moroccan classmates only with insults or by avoiding interaction. The boys do not like when Moroccan girls insult them in Arabic because they do not understand it and, one of them, Manolo, mentions that he insults Sarah, whereas he does not bother Jazmín, because he likes her. One male Spanish classmate even asserts that he would prefer to fail the course than to do any kind of group work with his female Moroccan peers. Male Spanish classmates also acknowledge the presence of racism among students and they recommend female Moroccan students to be friends with female Spanish students, as they are more tolerant. Referring to immigrants in general, one of the male Spanish classmates asserts that he does not like that they come illegally, although there are also positive comments such as, for example, when a male Spanish classmate acknowledges that immigrants can teach them words in other languages or that they are curious and ask about the culture of the other.

As for inter-group members, teachers and other personnel at the high school assert that they value and treat immigrant students equally, and some of them try to be

closer to the main participants. However, teachers warn that Sarah and Jazmín will be perceived as different if they speak Arabic in class. In general, all inter-group members appreciate the richness of having different cultures interacting at the high school. However, the Vice-Principal rejects that Arabic immigrant students are unwilling to adapt to the high school.

Category 3 - "Being Respected"

From the main participants' perspective

1BERE-The feeling of being respected (as perceived by the main participants themselves): the degree to which the participants' desirable behaviours are being deemed legitimate, credible, and on equal footing with members of other groups. These desirable behaviours include personal and cultural components.

Example 3-A2

J: Jazmín (participante principal)

I: Investigadora
I- Cuándo llegaste a España, qué es lo que más te sorprendió de España y de tus compañeros españoles? en general, del país y de de tus compañeros de aquí.
J- Hay algunos racistas, y ya está. En clase, ahora, hay algunos racistas.
I- Uh hu. ¿Y cómo hablan, qué dicen?
J- Dicen mora y eso.,
I-Y, y por ejemplo, delante de los profesores, ¿también lo dicen?
J-Sí
I-¿Y los profesores que hacen?
J-Una el otro día, un chico dice: "mora" o algo así y no le dice nada, no le dice nada um la profesora.

Translation
J: Jazmín (main participant)
I: Researcher
I-When you arrived in Spain, what is it that surprised you the most about Spain and your Spanish peers? In general, about the country, and about your peers from here.
J- There are some racists, and that's it. In class, now, there are some racists.
I- Uh huh. And how do they talk, what do they say?
J- They say Moorish and such.
I- And, for example, in front of the teachers, they also say this?
J- Yes
I-And the teachers, what do they do?
J- One, the other day, a boy said: 'Moorish' or something like that and she didn't say anything to him, she said nothing umm the teacher.

This example is coded as Jazmín feeling "not being respected" by male Spanish classmates, who are racist and call her 'Moorish'[15] as an insult. She also feels not respected by some teachers who sometimes do not discipline the boys for these insults. As Table 3-A below shows, most of the two main participants' comments also refer to a lack of respect.

Table 3-A

Being respected as perceived by the main participants (number of comments)

Observing and observed party	Jazmín	Sarah	Total
Not being respected	1	2	3
Being somewhat respected	1	1	2
Being respected	0	0	0
Total number of comments	2	3	5

The two main participants perceive that their male Spanish classmates do not respect them because of their insults (e.g. they call Sarah and Jazmín *trapo* 'rag' and *moras* 'Moorish'[14]), their jokes, and their lack of willingness to help them. As example 3-A shows, Jazmín observes that some teachers are not respectful because they fail to discipline male Spanish students when they act in a discriminatory fashion. When referring to people in general, only Sarah mentions that some are nice and others are racist.

From the network members' perspective

2BERE-Moroccan immigrant students being respected (as perceived by others): the degree to which the network members perceive that the main participants'

[15] *Moorish* were the Muslim population that lived in Spain between VIII and XV centuries. Nowadays, it refers to the inhabitants of Northern Africa which share a border with Spain (Diccionario de la Real Academia de la Lengua [the researcher's translation]). Colloquially Moorish refers to the Muslim Arabic population. Another colloquial meaning is those men who have macho attitudes and behaviours. (Dictionario El Mundo[the researcher's translation]). The last two meanings are pejorative [comment of the researcher].

desirable behaviours are legitimate, credible, and on equal footing with members of other groups. These desirable behaviours include personal and cultural components. The perceptions comprise opinions of the interviewed network members themselves and third parties opinions.

Example 3- B4

A: Alejandro (compañero de clase español, su madre es española y su padre marroquí)
I: Investigadora
I: Aha. Muy bien. Y para ti es más fácil entenderles porque tu padre es de Marruecos o...no?
A: A veces sí, porque cuando los insultan me siento un poco-, digo, "va, parad porque yo también me ofendo".
I: Muy bien, muy bien. Sí. Y dices que se meten con ellos, pero en general bien, por qué?
A: Hombre ahora la gente ya se ha acostumbrado más porque hay más marroquís, ya son amigos de ellos y todo.
I: Y por qué crees que se meten tanto con ellos, o antes se metían más?
A: Por ser inmigrantes.
I: Por ser inmigrantes?
A: Por el color de piel y todo eso.

Translation

A: Alejandro (male Spanish classmate, his mother is Spanish and his father is Moroccan)
I: Researcher I
: Aha. Very good. And it is easier for you to understand them [Moroccans] because your father is from Morocco, or isn't he?
A: Sometimes yes, because when they[Spaniards] insult them [Moroccans] I feel a little-, I say 'come on, stop it because I am also offended'.
I: Very good, very good. Yes. And you say that they pick on them, but in general good, why?
A: Well now the people have already gotten more used to them because there are more Moroccans, and they are even friends.
I: And why do you think that they pick on them so much, or did they pick on them more before?
A: Because they are immigrants.
I: Because they are immigrants?
A: Because of the skin colour and all that..

This example is coded as Moroccan immigrant students "being somewhat respected", as Alejandro thinks that Spaniards insult Moroccan immigrants simply because they are immigrants. However, Spaniards are starting to get used to Moroccan people and even to being their friends. Alejandro feels personally empathetic to Moroccan immigrants and he defends them when he says *va, parad porque yo también me ofendo* 'come on, stop it because I also get offended'. This is a very unique position of respect and total empathy among the interviewees.

Intra-group members' parties

Party: "Female non-Moroccan immigrant classmate"

Table 3-B1

Being respected as perceived by the intragroup members I (number of comments)

Observing party	female Non-Arabic immigrant classmate (1)					
Observed party	Jazmín	Sarah	Both	Arabic immigrants	Immigrants in general	Total
Not being respected	0	0	0	0	0	0
Being somewhat respected	0	0	0	0	2	2
Being respected	0	0	0	0	0	0
N. total comments	0	0	0	0	2	2

Marisa mentions positive and negative issues related to the respect of Spaniards towards immigrant people in general (table 3-B1). Marisa seems to agree with Jazmín and Sarah about the presence of racism, but she seems more tolerant of their classmates, whom she considers to be good friends, irrespective of their behaviour. Marisa also points out that not all teachers are the same. She comments that she, Sarah and Jazmín, have a good relationship with the non racist ones, whereas they will not talk to these *profesores tontos* 'foolish teachers'. She provides details with two examples where she perceives discriminatory answers of the teachers, one suffered by a Moroccan girl, and the second one experienced by Marisa herself.

Party: "Male Spanish classmates"

Table 3-B2

Being respected as perceived by the intragroup members II (number of comments)

Observing party	male Spanish classmates (4)					
Observed party	Jazmín	Sarah	Both	Moroccan immigrants	Immigrants in general	Total
Not being respected	0	0	1	1	0	2
Being somewhat respected	0	0	0	4	0	4
Being respected	0	0	0	0	0	0
N. total comments	0	0	1	5	0	6

The few comments of male Spanish classmates mainly refer to Moroccan immigrants in general and all include some reference to lack of respect on their part (table 3-B2). Most of them mention Spanish society is racist in its attitude towards Moroccan people. Cristiano also points out that Spanish girls are less racist than Spanish boys. All male Spanish students recommend that they, as a group, should be less racist.

With regard to their personal feelings, in Example 3-B4 above, Alejandro shows a high degree of empathy and he even defends Moroccan male students. Also Cristiano asserts that when he personally calls Moroccan students *moro de mierda* 'bloody Moorish', he does it as he would with a Spanish friend, and says they are all his friends anyway, and that he is not serious about it. However, in his comment, Cristiano is referring only to his relationship with male Moroccan students, which is much closer than with female Moroccan classmates.

Intragroup member parties

Party 2: "Teachers"

Table 3-B3

Being respected as perceived by the intergroup members I (number of comments)

Observing party	Teachers (5)					
Observed party	Jazmín	Sarah	Both	Moroccan Immigrants	Immigrants general	Total
Not being respected	0	0	0	1	2	3
Being somewhat respected	0	0	1	1	0	2
Being respected	0	0	1	0	0	1
N. total comments	0	0	2	2	2	6

The very few comments of teachers on respect are quite positive when referring to both main participants, whereas they are negative when referring to immigrants in general (table 3-B3).

Teachers are aware of racist attitudes in Spanish society, especially towards the Moroccan immigrant population. In the high school context, teachers mention the influence of Spanish families developing racist behaviours among teenagers. They also mention the lack of respect of male Moroccan immigrants for female Moroccan individuals, a feature that is more salient when these girls adopt some Western cultural styles.

When referring to the particular setting of the classroom, Gauss mentions the presence of racism and macho attitudes, but he and Valenciana assert that insults are part of the language of interaction in that particular group, with no hidden or secondary intentions.

Parties: "psychologist, Vice-Principal, administration, and cafeteria staff "

Table 3-B4

Being respected as perceived by the intergroup members II (number of comments)

Observing party	Psychologist (1)	Vice- Principal (1)		
Observated party	Moroccan immigrants	Moroccan immigrants	Immigrants in general	Total
Not being respected	1	0	1	2
Being somewhat respected	0	0	1	1
Being respected	0	1	0	1
N. total comments	1	1	2	4

The psychologist and the Vice-Principal refer mainly to some lack of respect (table 3-B4) and they have different perspectives. The psychologist refers to disrespectful attitudes inside the Moroccan ethnic group; he mentions the lack of respect of the male Moroccan population against Moroccan girls. This observation coincides with the previous observation of the Compensatory Valencian teacher.

On the other hand, the Vice-Principal mentions interethnic group relationships. She refers to the case of a male Moroccan student who is very well respected and a good friend of all his classmates. The Vice-Principal also refers to some xenophobic comments against immigrant population in general. She asserts that these comments are based on fear, such as *cualquier inmigrante venía a cogernos los puestos del cole [colegio], venía a cogernos los puestos de trabajo* 'any immigrant coming to take our school places, come to take our jobs'. She refutes that kind of argument and highlights the need to teach students how to be more tolerant and open-minded.

Summary: "Being Respected"

The two main participants perceive a lack of respect on the part of their male Spanish classmates, some teachers and some Spanish people in general. The only female Romanian peer concurs with that opinion. She is more tolerant of the attitudes of male Spanish classmates but complains strongly about the racist attitudes of some teachers. Male Spanish classmates also assert that there is racism against Moroccan students, and they think it should not be like that. However, these male peers assert that when they insult the main participants or Moroccan students in general, they do not mean to be disrespectful. Also some teachers confirm that male students' insults are a way of communication more than a racist behaviour. The tutor of 3D adds that he also perceives macho attitudes among male Spanish students.

Some teachers and the psychologist mention the lack of respect of male Moroccan students towards female Moroccan students within the high school. Finally, teachers mention the lack of respect in Spanish society towards the immigrant population, and the Vice-Principal concedes that Spanish students and the population in general should stop being racist since immigrants are not threatening. She concludes by referring to one exception, the case of a male Moroccan student who respects and is respected by all his classmates. The Vice-Principal links this exceptional case with the personality of the male student.

Category 4: "Appropriateness"

From the main participants' perspective

1AP- Appropriateness (as perceived by the main participants): the degree to which the participants perceive behaviours as proper and matching the expectations generated by their ethnic culture i.e., Arabic ethnicity, according the definition suggested by Ortí Teruel, (2004). This definition includes perceptions about the

appropriateness of behaviours performed by the main participants themselves and those behaviours performed by their network members.

Example A4
J: Jazmín (participante principal)
I: Investigadora
I-Hay alguna cosa que tú ves aquí que hace la gente, a lo mejor como la ropa de vestir o la forma de hablar o no sé, cosas que hacen o las chicas y los chicos que se tocan o se besan que en tu cultura no hay...
J-Hay chicas que con chicos, en la calle se besan y eso y nosotros no tenemos allí.
I- Está mal visto, no?
J-Sí
I-Y hay otras cosas que...
J-Y las chicas fuman, aquí está normal y las mujeres fuman. Aquí normal, no? Pero allí no.
I-Los hombres allí sí, pero las mu...
J-Si, pero las mujeres no.
I-Está mal visto, no?
J-Sí
I-Y a ti eso que te parece? Te parece bien que puedan fumar las chicas o...
J-mal
I-O te parece mal? No te gusta.
J-Porque no fuma

Translation
J: Jazmín (main participant)
I: Researcher
I- Is there something that you see that people do here, maybe related to the dressing style or the way they talk or whatever, things that they do, or the girls and the boys that touch or kiss each other that don't exist in your culture...
J-there are girls that with the boys, in the street they kiss each other and so and we don't have that there.
I-It looks bad, doesn't it?
J-Yes
I-And are there other things that...
J-And the girls smoke, this is normal here and women smoke. Here it is normal, isn't it? But there, it is not.
I-And men there yes, but wom...
J-Yes, but women don't.
I-It is viewed negatively, isn't it?
J-Yes
I-And you, what do you think? Do you think that girls can smoke or...?
J-It's bad.
I-Or do you think it's bad? you don't like it.
J-Because I don't smoke/ women do not smoke [t is difficult to guess what Jazmín means here-researcher comment]

In this example, Jazmín observes that in Spain boys and girls kiss each other in the street whereas they do not do that in Morocco. Also, she finds it inappropriate that women smoke in Spain whereas they do not smoke in Morocco. This example follows the general trend of Jazmín and Sarah mainly commenting on inappropriate behaviours (table 4-A).

Table 4-A

Appropriateness as perceived by the main participants themselves (number of comments)

Observing party	Jazmín				Sarah			
Observed party	male Span. classmates	teachers	Span. culture	Total	male Span. classmates	teachers	Span. culture	Total
Not appr. behaviour	0	1	1	2	1	0	2	3
Somewhat appr. beh.	1	0	0	1	1	0	2	3
Appr. behaviour	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
N. total comments	1	1	2	4	2	0	4	6

Sarah and Jazmín agree on the inappropriate behaviour of male Spanish classmates who insult them and teachers who do not discipline the boys for those insults. However, the two girls react differently to these inappropriate behaviours. Sarah does not seem to have high expectations about her relationship with the boys and states that she would be happy if they *pos te deja en paz* 'leave you alone', literally 'leave you in peace'[16], however, she asserts that she interacts with the boys and even responds to their insults. Conversely, Jazmín keeps quiet and limits her comments to blaming the teachers for not disciplining the boys for their inappropriate behaviour. Throughout the interviews, Jazmín comments that she would like to be friends with her male Spanish classmates; however, she seems to be resigned when she claims that they are racist and she cannot do anything about it.

Sarah and Jazmín coincide in their opinions about what is expected in terms of appropriate behaviours in Moroccan culture. Jazmín mentions some appropriate norms that exist in Spain and also exist in Morocco, such as being silent at the library. Sarah tries to minimize the differences when she asserts that despite not being able to

[16]Example also commented in other categories such as "Being Valued", "Being Understood" and "Social Success".

eat pork, *en la cafetería me tomo un bocadillo de tortilla y to,* 'at the cafeteria I have a sandwich of Spanish omelette and so'.

From the network members' perspective

2AP-Appropriateness (as perceived by others): the degree to which participants' behaviours are regarded as proper and match the expectations generated by the culture of each one of the network members. In most of the cases, this will be the Spanish host culture. However, immigrant network members will have their origin/heritage culture (Romanian and Moroccan culture) as a reference.

Example 2-B21
M: María (Jefa de estudios de secundaria)
I: Investigadora
I: ¿Qué experiencias has visto o vivido? Algún ejemplo pequeño, en el que tú has sentido que no se te ha respetado y-, o sea, puedes poner algún ejemplo que cuando tú has-
M: Sí, los padres que cuando venían a hablar porque yo solicitaba su visita, pues no, no querían hablar conmigo, querían un hombre. O por ejemplo, las madres que vienen aquí, pues los niños van siempre delante, las madres van detrás, no se les hace caso. Aquí cuando vienen las madres es prácticamente nulo. La conversación es nula porque además, como no salen de casa no hablan el es-, el castellano. Tienes que buscar una intérprete del idioma, una niña o un niño de aquí. Y entonces pues nada, así estamos.

Translation
M: María (Vice-Principal)
I: Researcher
I: What experiences have you seen or lived? Some little example, in which you have felt that you haven't been respected and-, I mean, you can give some example about when you have-
M: Yes, fathers, when they came to talk because I asked for their visit, that no, they didn't want to talk to me, they wanted a man. Or for example, the mothers that come here, their male children go always before them, mothers go after them, they [Moroccan mothers] are not paid attention to. Here, when mothers come, it is almost useless. The conversation is empty because also, as they do not leave the home they don't speak Spa- Castilian language. You have to look for a language interpreter, a female or male child from here. And then well nothing, that's how it is.

In this example, María, the Vice-Principal asserts that some years ago Moroccan fathers did not want to talk to female authorities at the high school and they asked for a man. Also, the Vice-Principal does not like the way male students treat their own mothers, ignoring them. She is also disappointed about the fact that mothers do not speak Spanish and she feels it is therefore not worth trying to talk to them.

Intragroup member parties

Party: "Female non-Arabic immigrant classmate"

Table 4-B1

Being respected as perceived by the intragroup members I (number of comments)

Observing party	female Romanian immigrant classmate (1)							
Observed party	Both	Arabic culture	Arabic females	Arabic Males	Spanish classmates	Teachers	High school (institut.)	Total
Not appr. behaviour	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	4
Somewhat appr. beh.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Appr. behaviour	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	4
N. total comments	4	1	0	1	1	1	1	9

Most comments on appropriate behaviour refer to both (Sarah and Jazmín), whereas comments on other groups tend to be more negative (table 4-B1). Marisa considers that male Spanish students do not have the appropriate attitude towards studies. Also, she finds the discriminatory treatment by some teachers inappropriate. As far as the educational system at the high school is concerned, she finds it inappropriate that immigrant students have to write different exams when they are already competent in the Spanish language. As for Sarah and Jazmín who are her good friends, Marisa finds that their attitude towards their studies is appropriate. However, when referring to Moroccan culture, Marisa finds many traditions and prohibitions discriminatory, such as some Muslim women wearing the hijab or not smoking, because they are confined to females.

Party: "Female Arabic immigrant classmate"

Table 4 -B2

Appropriateness as perceived by the intragroup members II (number of comments)

Observing party	female Arabic immigrant classmate (1)				
Observed party	Jazmín	Sarah	Both	Spanish culture	Total
Not appropriate behaviour	0	0	0	1	1
Somewhat appropriate behaviour	0	0	0	0	0
Appropriate behaviour	0	0	0	0	0
N. total comments	0	0	0	1	1

Table 4-B2 shows that the female Arabic immigrant classmate, Karima, has only one comment and it refers to the inappropriateness of Spanish culture (table 4-B2). Despite being explicitly asked about cultural differences, Karima does not highlight anything that is done in Spain that she finds inappropriate, except for one comment on female clothes, as she asserts that Spanish girls wear *muy abierta* 'very revealing clothes'.

Party: "Male Spanish classmates"

Table 4-B3

Appropriateness as perceived by the intragroup members III (number of comments)

Observing party	male Spanish classmates (4)							
Observed party	Both	Arabic Imm.	Arabic culture	Imm. In general	Teachers	high school	Span. male stud.	Total
Not appr. behaviour	2	1	4	0	1	0	0	8
Somewhat appr. beh.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Appr. behaviour	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	4
N. total comments	2	2	4	0	2	2	0	12

Male Spanish classmates focus, in seven of twelve comments, on inappropriate behaviours related to Muslim traditions, talking in general or about Sarah and Jazmín (table 4-B3). In the classroom interaction, the four Spanish boys consider it appropriate that Sarah and Jazmín receive different materials and that they are taught easier things, as this special attention is part of the process of adaptation. However, they find it inappropriate that the Moroccan girls use Arabic, and even insult them in Arabic, and also that they remain apart from the rest of the group. Also, male classmates from Spain comment on some inappropriate racist behaviour among some teachers. However, as mentioned in the category of "Respect", when they use the exact same racist comment about immigrants being invaders, male Spanish classmates claim that it is just a joke, and that they do not really mean it.

As for Muslim Moroccan culture, only Alejandro, the student with a Spanish-Moroccan bi-cultural identity asserts that he does not have problems with Muslim religious practices. However, the other three male Spanish classmates find some cultural traditions inappropriate, particularly religious habits and norms.

Inter-group network members

Party: "Teachers"

Table 4-B4

Appropriateness as perceived by the intergroup members I (number of comments)

Observing party	Teachers											
Observed party	Jazmín	Sarah	Both	Arab. Cul.	Arab. Stu.	Fem. Arab. Stu.	Male Arab. Stu.	Teachers	High school	Spa. male stud.	Teenager Prac.	Total
Not appr. behaviour	1	0	6	6	6	1	3	1	1	1	1	27
Somewhat appr. behaviour	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	3
Appr. behaviour	0	1	0	0	1	3	1	0	1	0	0	7
N. total comments	1	1	6	6	7	5	5	2	2	1	1	37

With thirty-seven comments, the category of "Appropriateness" is the most often mentioned among teachers and thirty of these comments refer to a certain degree of inappropriate behaviour. However, it is remarkable that the majority of comments about appropriate behaviours refer to female Moroccan students in general (table 4-B4).

When talking about Sarah and Jazmín, teachers consider it inappropriate that the two girls mainly interact with female Moroccan students, and that they speak Arabic in class. When referring to Moroccan students, teachers' comments about inappropriateness are recurrent. They mention that Moroccans seem unwilling to adapt, they speak Arabic in class, and that they are separated into "ghettos". Also, following the same pattern as in other categories, teachers distinguish between genders. Moroccan girls are perceived as studious, but they behave inappropriately

when they wear the hijab. In the case of male Moroccan students, teachers primarily highlight as inappropriate their lack of interest in their studies and their conflictive attitude. However, the strongest complaint comes from a female teacher who asserts that some male Moroccan students do not respect authority. As for the Spanish host culture, Spanish people, and Spanish institutions, some comments criticise the disempowered or apathetic attitude of Spanish teachers and students.

Party: "Vice-Principal "

Table 4-B5

Appropriateness as perceived by the intergroup members II (number of comments)

Observing party	Vice-Principal (1)							
Observated party	Ara. cultue	Arabic stu.	Fem. Ara. stu.	Male Ara. stu.	Fem. Ara. adults	Male Arabic adults	Imm.. General	Total
Not appr. behaviour	1	2	0	2	1	3	0	9
Somewhat appr. behaviour	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Appr. behaviour	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	4
N. total comments	1	2	1	3	1	3	2	13

The Vice-Principal comments mainly on the inappropriate behaviours and attitudes of Arabic immigrant students and parents, making gender differences (table 4-B5). She mentions general trends about immigrant students' behaviours and attitudes such as separating into cliques or ghettos. However, the Vice-Principal finds it particularly inappropriate when male Arabic students and parents do not respect the authority of female Spanish teachers or managers at the school. Also, she asserts that many Arabic male students have racist attitudes towards Spanish students, though she

mentions the exceptional case of a male Moroccan student as a model of appropriate behaviour and social integration at the high school (see page 60).

As for female Arabic students, the Vice-Principal considers that they behave appropriately in class, but she thinks that they should vindicate their rights and stop being in a secondary position. This criticism also applies to Arabic mothers who, in most cases, do not even learn the Castilian language.

Parties: "receptionist, administration, and cafeteria staff"

Table 4-B6

Appropriateness as perceived by the intergroup members III (number of comments)

Observing party	Receptionist	Cafeteria Staff(2)				
Observated party	Both	Female Arabic students	Male Arabic students	Female Arabic adults	Male Arabic adults	Total
Not appr. behaviour	0	0	3	1	1	5
Somewhat appr. behaviour	0	1	0	0	0	1
Appr. behaviour	1	2	1	0	0	3
N. total comments	1	3	4	1	1	9

The majority of comments by these parties are about inappropriate behaviours, specially with respect to male Arabic students (table 4-B5). The cafeteria staff explain that male Moroccan students tend to be disrespectful and argumentative, and when the cafeteria staff request their attention, they react *como si se te comieran* 'as if they would eat you', whereas female Moroccan students in general tend to behave properly in the cafeteria and when relating to teachers. According to the receptionist, Sarah and Jazmín confirm this positive appreciation, and she adds that they behave as any female teenager in that high school would be expected to behave.

Regarding the Moroccan adult population, the cafeteria staff criticise the behaviour of some Muslim men because they drink a lot, and they are not respectful to Spanish or Moroccan women. The cafeteria staff also consider adult female Moroccans to be selfish, and indifferent to others. It is interesting that this last criticism is different from that of the other parties who mentioned that Moroccan females lack assertiveness or initiative and are submissive.

Summary: Appropriateness

This is the category with the most comments and most of them refer to the inappropriateness of behaviours and attitudes related to Spanish and Moroccan cultures. There are two, distinct perspectives: that of Jazmín, Sarah and their female Moroccan friend Karima, who all share a Moroccan Muslim perspective; and that of the Spanish network members and Marisa, the female Romanian classmate, who share a Western perspective. However, Alejandro, the male Spanish classmate whose father is Moroccan, has a more moderate position since he understands and defends Moroccan students' feelings, but does not share their Muslim religious beliefs.

When talking about interactions between and among individuals, Sarah and Jazmín (more cautiously) refer to their personal appropriate behaviour, and the wrong behaviour of some teachers and classmates. Sarah's and Jazmín's classmates and teachers consider the two girls' interest in their studies appropriate. However, both parties find it inappropriate that the two girls speak Arabic in class and that they isolate themselves from the rest of the class. About the appropriateness of Spaniards behaviour, there are comments on racism and the lack of effort to help in the adaptation of newcomers. However, self criticism is rare in all parties.

With regard to culturally different behaviours, Jazmín, Sarah and also Karima refer to Muslim prohibitions like going out or talking to boys, smoking, wearing

revealing clothes or eating pork. Only Sarah challenges some of these rules in some cases. On the other side, Spanish network members find it inappropriate that female Moroccan students wear the hijab and that they tend to create cliques. Also, all intergroup parties mention the lack of respect for authority (especially when the authority comes from a woman) among male Moroccan students, and their lack of interest in their studies. As for adults, intergroup parties criticise the macho attitude of male Moroccans towards women in general. Finally comments on the educational system and the high school agree on the need for special materials for immigrant newcomers when they first arrive. However, intragroup network members ask for equal treatment only after newcomers have demonstrated some knowledge of Castilian and Valencian.

Category 5: "Effectiveness"

From the main participants' perspective

1EF-Effectiveness (as perceived by the main participants): the degree to which participants perceive behaviours as helpful in achieving shared meanings with other communicator(s), i.e., that lead to a meaningful communication. This definition includes those behaviours that contribute to the achievement of the main participants' goal to adapt successfully to the high school. The perceived behaviours can be performed by the main participants themselves, their network members, and the high school as an institution.

Example A3

S: Sarah

I: Investigadora
I-Pero vamos a imaginar que les vamos a dar consejos, tú imagínate que yo voy a ser una profesora y les voy a decir: mirad, chicos de la clase, para ayudar a vuestras compañeras, lo que podéis hacer es eso. Y vamos a imaginar que ellos sí que quieren hacerlo. ¿Qué cosas?
S-Pos que cuando no sabes nada, pos preguntarlos y te dicen eso y te dicen significa esto, significa eso...

I-Ayudaros con el español.
S-Sí
I-Qué más?
S-Pos, cuando no sabes dónde está la clase otro, te dicen aquí está la clase, número ese . Cuando no sabes donde está la secretaria, pues te dicen ahí está o donde está la cafetería, no lo sabes, te ayudan con muchas cosas.

Translation
S: Sarah (main participant)
I: Researcher
I – But let's imagine that we are going to give advice, you imagine that I am going to be your teacher and that I am going to tell you: look, class, in order to help our male Spanish classmates you have to do this. And let's imagine that they do want to do it. What kind of things?
S – When you do not know anything, then you ask them and they explain it to you and they tell you what to do, this means that and this means that...
I – To help you with Spanish.
S – Yes
I – What else?
S – When you don't know where another class is, they tell you "here is the class, number x, x, x". When you don't know where the secretary is, they tell you that place is there, or you don't know where the cafeteria is, they help you with a lot of things.

In this example Sarah explains what behaviours of her male Spanish classmates would be helpful to her and Jazmín. She mentions that they could help them with issues such as Spanish vocabulary, or direct them to locations they do not know such as the cafeteria. In Table 5-A, the majority of comments from both Jazmín and Sarah also refer to effective behaviours from part of their network members which can help them adapt.

Table 5-A

Effectiveness as perceived by the main participants (number of comments)

Observing party	Jazmín				Sarah			
Observed party	herself	male Spa. classmates	teachers	Total	herself	male Spa. classmates	teachers	Total
Not eff. behaviour	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
Somewhat eff.beh.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Effective behaviour	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	4
N. total comments	1	1	2	4	1	1	3	5

Sarah and Jazmín have a common opinion about the effectiveness of studying hard and making friends in order to adapt well at the Spanish high school. They also

think that Spanish peers and teachers can help them with the Spanish language, and they both appreciate a close relationship with teachers. However, whereas Jazmín would also consider it helpful to be good friends with Spanish classmates (an interesting opinion that contrasts with some teachers and classmates perceptions that Jazmín exhibits shy behaviour), Sarah only seems to expect practical help from male Spanish classmates such as giving directions, but she does not mention friendship. Moreover, Jazmín also would like teachers to defend female immigrant students when male Spanish students insult them.

From the network members' perspective

2EF-Effectiveness (as perceived by others): the degree to which network members perceive behaviours as helpful to achieve shared meanings with other communicator(s), i.e., that lead to a meaningful communication. This definition also includes those behaviours that contribute to the achievement of the participants' goal to adapt successfully at the high school. The perceived behaviours can be performed by the main participants themselves, their network members, and the high school as an institution.

Example 4-B1

V: Valenciana (profesora de valenciano en 3D)
I: Investigadora
I: ¡Muy bien, muy bien! @@. Y qué cosas crees que hacen ellas para adaptarse?
V: Yo ninguno. Yo no veo que se esfuercen. No, ya te digo, yo a Jazmín la tuve también el año pasado y ella tampoco hacía nada. Es más tenía a Jazmín y a Mohamed. No estaban al mismo nivel, Jazmín era recién llegada, Mohamed ya llevaba un año, no trabajaban el mismo libro, pero ni entre ellos dos hacían por relacionarse. No, no lo intentan tampoco.

Translation
V: Valenciana (mainstream teacher of Valencian language at 3D)
I: Researcher
I: Very good, very good! @@. And what things do you think they do to adapt?
V: Nothing. I don't see that they make any effort. No, I had Jazmín last year in my class and she didn't do anything either. I had Jazmín and Mohamed. They weren't on the same level, Jazmín was a newcomer and Mohamed already had a year here, they didn't work with the same book, but they didn't do anything to relate even between themselves. No, they don't try to either.

In this example, classified as "ineffective behaviour", the Valencian teacher asserts that Sarah and Jazmín do not make any effort to adapt. She adds that Jazmín last year was sitting close to the only male Moroccan classmate in her class, but despite being both from Morocco, none of them made any effort to interact with the other.

Intra-group network members

Party: "Female non-Arabic immigrant classmate"

Table 5-B1

Effectiveness as perceived by the intragroup members I (number of comments)

Observing party	female Non-Arabic immigrant classmate (1)					
Observed party	Jazmín	Sarah	Both	Spanish classmates	Teachers	Total
Not effective behaviour	0	0	0	0	0	0
Somewhat effective behaviour	0	0	0	0	0	0
Effective behaviour	0	0	1	1	1	3
N. total comments	0	0	1	1	1	3

Marisa refers only to effective behaviours (table 5-B1). From the immigrants' point of view, Marisa finds it effective to learn the language and to have a positive attitude towards the host culture members. Marisa adds that Jazmín and Sarah are doing well, although they need to improve their skills in Castilian and Valencian languages. Marisa finds it important that host culture members help immigrant newcomers in general. She thinks that male Spanish peers could help them more with the language and also by defending immigrant girls when necessary. As for the teachers, they should get closer to immigrant newcomers but treat them equally after a period of Compensatory languages classes.

Party: "Male Spanish classmates"

Table 5-B2

Effectiveness as perceived by the intragroup members II (number of comments)

Observing party	male Spanish classmates (4)							
Observed party	Both	Ara. Imm.	Male Ara. Imm.	Imm. in general	Teachers	High school	Span. male stu.	Total
Not eff. behaviour	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	6
Somewhat eff. beh.	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Effective behaviour	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	10
N. total comments	5	4	1	2	1	2	2	17

Male Spanish classmates especially focus on the ineffective behaviours of Sarah and Jazmín and of Arabic immigrants (table 5-B2). They consider ineffective Sarah's and Jazmín's lack of interaction and participation. To solve this problem, they recommend more interaction with others, and suggest that the two girls ask the teacher for help more often. About Moroccan immigrant students in general, male Spanish classmates consider it ineffective to continue with some Muslim traditions when living in Spain and they also advise Arabic immigrants to study the language in order to adapt quickly. When asked about what male Spanish classmates themselves could do to help their immigrant peers, they suggest that they should be willing to help, talk to them, and not be nasty. Finally, about the institution and teachers, male Spanish classmates acknowledge the effectiveness of special materials and teachers' attention to immigrant newcomers.

Inter-group network members

Party: "Teachers"

Table 5-B3

Effectiveness as perceived by the intergroup members I (number of comments)

Observing party	Teachers (5)										
Observed party	Jazmín	Sarah	Both	Arabic immig.	Female Arabic immig.	Male Arabic Immig.	Immig. in general	Teachers	high school	Spanish male stud.	Total
Not effective behaviour	2	1	3	4	0	1	0	2	0	0	13
Somewhat effective behaviour	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	4
Effective behaviour	1	0	1	5	1	1	3	2	1	1	16
N. total comments	3	2	5	9	1	2	3	6	1	1	33

Of thirty-three comments, ten refer to Jazmín and Sarah and twelve refer to Arabic immigrants in general and they concentrate more on behaviours that are not effective (table 5-B3). As for Jazmín and Sarah, teachers perceive them as being on the right path as far as academic adaptation is concerned, although they still need to work hard on their language skills, especially in Valencian. There are only particular comments about Jazmín, mentioning that she seems to study and do well in her class, but she does not try to integrate even with a male Moroccan student who sat next to her last course (see example 4-B1). It is interesting that the teacher automatically assumes that they are not willing to make an effort rather than understanding that male and females are not encouraged to interact in some Muslim cultures.

As for male Arabic students, teachers perceive that their behaviours impede their academic adaptation to the high school. As for female Arabic students, they

comment that their academic progress is good, but they should try to relate more to other non-Moroccan students at the high school. Also, they suggest that it would be good to change some Muslim traditions, specially the use of hijab. For all immigrant newcomers, teachers recommend acquiring a good level of language competence, have a good predisposition, and make efforts.

Finally, when referring to teachers and institutions, some teachers comment that the actual program of adaptation for immigrant students is less effective than in other centers. Some teachers also mention other needs such as more resources, training, and a change towards a more supportive attitude of teachers towards immigrant newcomers.

Party: "Vice-Principal"

Table 5-B4

Effectiveness as perceived by the intergroup members II (number of comments)

Observing party	Vice- Principal (1)					
Observated party	Arabic immigrants	Female Arabic immig.	Male Arabic immigrants	Immig. in general	high school	Total
Not effective behaviour	3	2	1	0	1	7
Somewhat effective behaviour	0	0	0	0	0	0
Effective behaviour	1	1	0	1	1	4
N. total comments	4	3	1	1	2	11

The Vice-Principal refers to Arabic immigrants in eight comments, sometimes in general, and sometimes making distinctions between genders, and she mainly refers to behaviours that are not effective. She considers that male Arabic students are not tolerant of their host culture, that they are negative, and that they should make more effort. As for Arabic girls, the Vice-Principal asserts that their good behaviour leads

to success academically, but it would be better if they stopped wearing the hijab in order to adapt socially.

As for the programs of integration that are currently offered at the high school, the Vice-Principal considers that it is effective that immigrant newcomers sit in mainstream classes from the very beginning if they also receive a strong support with compensatory classes where they learn the language (Castilian and Valencian). However, the Vice-Principal acknowledges that the adaptation will be harder for Moroccan immigrant students.

Parties: "receptionist, administration, and cafeteria staff"

Table 5-B5

Effectiveness as perceived by the intergroup members III (n. of comments)

Observing party	Administration (1)		Receptionist (1)		Cafeteria Staff (2)		
Observated party	Imm. in general	high school	Both	Fem. Arabic imm.	Female Ara. imm.	Male Arab Imm.	Total
Not effective behaviour	2	1	0	1	0	1	5
Somewhat eff.beh.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Effective behaviour	1	0	1	0	1	1	4
N. total comments	3	1	1	1	1	2	9

There are comments on effective and not effective behaviours, particularly by Arabic immigrants, although the Administration staff, Sofia, focuses more on immigrants in general (table 5-B5). Sofia mentions problems with paper work, and she thinks that they can be solved with the help of immigrant people with previous experience, as well as more public resources.

The receptionist considers the process of adaptation of Sarah and Jazmín similar to that of new Spanish girls. She contrasts the former with the Moroccan girls who wear the hijab and keep to themselves, which she finds ineffective for purposes

of adaptation. Finally, the cafeteria staff consider that female Moroccan students manage effectively at the high school, whereas most male Moroccan students are not willing to work on their studies.

General conclusions: Effectiveness category

Sarah and Jazmín consider that in order to adapt to the Spanish high school, it is effective to study hard, to learn the language, and to make friends. Consequently, when their teachers and classmates are close to them and help them with the language, they find this effective. However, Sarah refers more to practical help whereas Jazmín would like to have friendships with male Spanish classmates and the protection of teachers, although she keeps passive and resigned about it. The male Spanish classmates and teachers agree that Sarah and Jazmín are doing academically well, but they need to improve their Castilian and Valencian language skills and interact more with non Moroccan students. Network members think that teachers should help by giving the main participants more attention, but treating them equally in exams when they reach the appropriate level of language competence; male Spanish classmates could help them with their Castilian and Valencian language skills and also by defending immigrant students as part of their group.

When referring to Moroccan students in general, newcomers and all network members say they should have a more positive attitude towards them. Also, all network members apart from Alejandro (the male Spanish classmate whose father is from Morocco) would find it helpful if Moroccan immigrants changed some of their Muslim traditions such as wearing the hijab. Finally, network members consider that the high school is doing well by giving immigrant newcomers adapted materials and according to the Vice-Principal, it is good that immigrant newcomers join mainstream

courses from the beginning with a strong support of compensatory teaching, although not all teachers agree on that issue.

Category 6: "Academic Success"

This category includes those comments that refer to the perceptions, about the degree of academic success, of (1) Sarah and/or Jazmín, (2) Moroccan immigrants or (3) immigrants in general. Comments about the definition of academic success are also included.

From the main participants' perspective

1ACSU-Academic success (as perceived by the main participants): those behaviours and communication situations that the participants perceive as contributing factors for academic success or academic failure.

Example 6- A1

S: Sarah
I: Investigadora
I-Vale, seguimos, ya acabamos. Dime tres cosas que son, como tres cualidades o tres cosas que una persona que llega que es inmigrante y llega a España, tiene que tener, tres cosas buenas para integrarse, para adaptarse mejor, tres cualidades.
S-u, la primera que tienes que tener, tienes que, pera, que tienes que estudiar mucho
I-aha
S-cuando tienes ganas para estudiar esa es la más buena, tienes que hacer amigas, cuando te ayuda y todo más y (pausa) ya está, que eso, no más.
I-mhu
S-Pos yo me, tengo que estudiar para hacer algo. Tengo que estudiar más, quiero estudiar estudiar y estudiar.
I-Estudiar mucho, no? Muy bien, muy bien, uau, te veo con unas ganas, eso es muy bueno. Y ahora, tres cosas malas, o sea, si yo soy una inmigrante con esas características, o con esas cosas malas, me va a ir muy mal, que cosas malas, no que cualidades no, que forma de ser es mala para integrarse?
S-Cuando hay una chica mejor que tú no te gusta ser celosa.
I-ser celosa es malo
S-Ya, y cuando fumas y to eso, no vienes al colegio, al instituto y eso también es mal, y cuando te hablas con el la profesores y eso mal, también mal.

Translation
S: Sarah
R: Researcher
R: Ok, let's continue, we're almost done. Tell me three things or three qualities that an immigrant arriving in Spain should have. Three good things to integrate, to better adapt, three qualities.
S: Uh, the first one you have to have, you have to, wait, you have to study a lot.
R: Aha
S: The best quality is when you feel like studying, you have to make friends, when they help you and everything else (pause) that's it, that is, no more.

R: mmm
S: Well I, I have to study to do something. I have to study more, I want to study, study and study.
R: Study a lot, no? Very good, very good, wow! I can see you like to study, that's very good! And now, tell me three bad things, that is, if I am an immigrant with those characteristics or with those bad things, I'll do bad, what bad things..., no qualities no, what way of being is bad to integrate?
S: When there's a girl better than you, you shouldn't be jealous.
R: Being jealous is bad.
S: Ok and when you smoke and all that, you don't come to school, to the institute and that is also bad, and when you talk to the professors with disrespect, that is bad, too.

This example is coded as "being academically successful". Here Sarah explains that in order to adapt, immigrant students need to study very hard. She personally thinks that she needs and wants to study very hard. As for factors that will impede success, she mentions not attending classes at the high school and having a bad relationship with teachers. This example confirms the general trend of Sarah and Jazmín to refer to positive aspects of being academically successful, as shown in Table 6-A.

Table 6-A

Academic success as perceived by the main participants (number of comments)

Observing and observed party	Jazmín	Sarah	Total
Not being successful	0	0	0
Being somewhat successful	0	0	0
Being successful	2	3	5
Total number of comments	2	3	5

Although both main participants refer to their academic success, their attitude is different. Jazmín links her academic success to the fact that she passed all her exams from the very beginning. However, Sarah not only asserts that she passed her courses but she also expands on the importance of some specific courses for her, how she likes them, and finds them easy because she already studied the contents in her previous education in Morocco. Sarah also insists on her willingness to study very hard now and over the long term.

From the network members' perspective

2ACSU-Academic success (as perceived by others): those behaviours and communication situations that the network members perceive as contributing factors for academic success or academic failure.

Example 6-B4

K: Karima (compañera marroquí)

I: Investigadora
I: Cómo ves tú la adaptación de tus compañeras?
K: españolas?
I: No, de las compañeras, las que estamos haciendo como observación, de Sarah y de Jazmín.
K: yo creo que bien.
I: Cómo crees que les ha ido, les ha costado...?
K: Sarah ha sido muy lista porque ella llevaba poco tiempo aquí y lo aprobó todo, vino el primer año y lo aprobó todo, el segundo también. A ver si este año también. Es un-, yo creo que es una chica muy espabilada. Y Jazmín, algo.
I: Le cuesta un poco más?
K: Yo creo que le cuesta un poco más.

Translation
K: Karima (female Moroccan classmate)
I: Researcher
R: How do you see your classmates' adaptation?
K: the Spanish ones?
R: No, about your classmates, the ones we are observing, Sarah and Jazmín.
K: I think they are doing ok.
R: How do you think they have been doing? Has it been difficult?
K: Sarah has been very smart because she had been here for short time and she passed all the courses. She came the first year and she passed everything, in the second one, too. We'll see if this year, too. She's a-, I think she's a clever person. And Jazmín, something like that.
R: Is it harder for her?
K: I think it's harder for her.

In this example, Karima perceives Sarah and Jazmín differently. She thinks that Sarah is very clever and is passing all her exams, despite her recent arrival in Spain. Karima thinks that it takes Jazmín longer to adapt or to study. This perception is confirmed but also contradicted by other parties along the interviews.

Intra-group network members

Party: "Female non-Moroccan immigrant classmate"

Table 6-B1

Academic success as perceived by the intragroup members I (number of comments)

Observing party	Female Non-Moroccan immigrant classmate (1)					
Observed party	Jazmín	Sarah	Both	Immigrants in general	Spanish classmates	Total
Not being successful	1	0	0	0	1	2
Being somewhat successful	0	0	0	1	0	1
Being successful	0	1	0	0	0	1
N. total comments	1	1	0	1	1	4

Marisa distinguishes between the academic success of Jazmín and Sarah, and she also refers to immigrants in general and the role of Spanish classmates (table 6-B1). Marisa relates academic success to language knowledge and passing courses. She finds that her female Moroccan friends are doing well, although Jazmín has some problems with reading in the Castilian language. Marisa also contrasts her personal attitude towards academic success with the male Spanish classmates' attitude. She asserts that the boys do not care about grades whereas she does care, especially because of pressure from her family.

Party: "Female Moroccan immigrant classmate"

Table 6-B2

Academic success as perceived by the intragroup membersII (number of comments)

Observing party	female Moroccan immigrant classmate (1)					
Observed party	Jazmín	Sarah	Both	Moroccan inmigrants	Inmigrants in general	Total
Not being successful	0	0	0	0	0	0
Being somewhat successful	1	0	0	0	0	1
Being successful	0	1	0	0	0	1
N. total comments	1	1	0	0	0	2

Karima perceives Sarah as more academically successful than Jazmín. As can be seen in Example 6-B2 above, Karima makes a clear distinction about the different predispositions of Sarah and Jazmín, and she finds Sarah more successful in her process of adaptation to the high school because she has passed all her courses even from the very beginning. She thinks that it takes Jazmín a little bit longer.

Party: "Male Spanish classmates"

Table 6-B3

Academic success as perceived by the intragroup members III (number of comments)

Observing party	male Spanish classmates (4)		
Observed party	Both	Moroccan immigrants	Total
Not being successful	0	0	0
Being somewhat successful	0	0	0
Being successful	2	2	4
N. total comments	2	2	4

Male Spanish classmates have only four remarks on being academically successful (table 6-B3). For Moroccan students in general, they give simple advice on how to adapt academically, such as study hard, be obedient, and learn the language. They also have two short comments about the success of Sarah and Jazmín, in which they assert that the two main participants (without making any distinction) are clever and do not have academic problems.

Inter-group network members

Party: "Teachers"

Table 6-B4

Academic success as perceived by the intergroup members I (number of comments)

Observing party	Teachers (5)						
Observed party	Both	Mor. Imm.	Fem. Mor. Imm.	Male Mor. Imm.	Imm.in general	High school	Total
Not being successful	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Being somewhat successful	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Being successful	2	0	2	1	4	1	10
N. total comments	5	0	2	1	4	1	13

Teachers mainly comment on positive aspects of academic success, despite having both positive and negative comments when referring to the main participants (table 6-B4). They mention that Sarah and Jazmín can understand Spanish well at the present but they interact too much in Arabic and this affects their progress. About Moroccan immigrants in general, teachers mention model cases of male and female Moroccan students who have improved their language skills very fast and are very participatory in class. However, teachers also assert that female Moroccan students usually make more effort and are more academically successful than male Moroccan students.

When asked about a definition of academic success, the Compensatory Castilian teacher describes successful students as those who: (1) can communicate, particularly in Castilian but also in Valencian, (2) are interested in studying, (3) can relate to Spanish people, (4) are able to finish secondary education, (5) and in some cases, finish their compulsory education and even reach post-obligatory studies like bachelors or vocational studies (Appendix C, example 6-B10). Other teachers agree

with some of these points and also highlight the need for enthusiasm for the process of adaptation, and the urgency in learning the languages (Castilian and Valencian) as the very first step.

It can be concluded that teachers share with other parties the same definition of academic success. However, they seem to prioritize language skills and participation in class over other factors. Papallona highlights a very positive change of attitude in a Moroccan male student once he reached a certain level of competence in Castilian language.

Parties: "psychologist and Vice-Principal"

Table 6-B5

Academic success as perceived by the intergroup members II (number of comments)

Observing party	Psychologist (1)	Vice- Principal (1)		
Observated party	Moroccan immigrants	Moroccan immigrants	Immigrants in general	Total
Not being successful	1	0	0	1
Being somewhat successful	0	0	0	0
Being successful	1	1	1	3
N. total comments	2	1	1	4

Table 6-B5 shows that the Psychologist comments only about Moroccan students whereas the Vice-Principal talks about Moroccan students and immigrant students in general. They both consider that immigrant students need to have a good predisposition in order to adapt successfully.

However, the psychologist focuses more on the dynamic process of adaptation. He considers that in the case of female Moroccan immigrants, academic adaptation is the first step, although he acknowledges that the lack of previous knowledge could interfere in the process.

On the other hand, the Vice-Principal mentions personal characteristics as key for adaptation: being critical but having a good predisposition is the most important point according to her. If we relate these comments with the ones of previous parties, we can see the reiteration of the concept of predisposition.

Parties: "Receptionist"

Table 6-B6

Academic success as perceived by the intergroup members III (number of comments)

Observing party	Receptionist (1)		
Observed party	Both	Female Moroccan immig.	Total
Not being successful	0	1	1
Being somewhat successful	0	0	0
Being successful	1	0	1
N. total comments	1	1	2

The receptionist perceives the academic success of Sarah and Jazmín more positively than that of female Moroccans in general (table 6-B6). She considers that, as far as she can observe, Sarah and Jazmín adapt well because they play, they talk to teachers like the others, they also participate in different activities at the high school, and they ask her for photocopies, which she assumes as a sign of positive academic behaviour. Conversely, she explains that those other female Moroccan students that wear the hijab do not ask her for photocopies, and because of that and other observations, she doubts that they do any study at all.

General conclusions: Academic Success

The main participants consider that academic success means to learn Castilian language, to study hard, to have a good relationship with teachers and to pass courses. Sarah adds that a good predisposition and effort are necessary. Both girls consider

themselves academically successful, but Sarah emphasizes that she needs and wants to study very hard.

All intragroup peers think that Sarah and Jazmín are doing well in their studies, but they still have some language problems. However, the female Romanian and Moroccan classmates concur in saying that Sarah is doing much better than Jazmín. In contrast, male Spanish classmates do not make any distinction between Sarah and Jazmín. Regarding the definition of academic success, all peers mention that it is important not to fail courses. However, the female Romanian peer compares her attitude with the male Spanish classmates, and she does not understand that boys do not seem as worried as her or Sarah and Jazmín about passing the courses.

Intergroup adult network members pinpoint learning the language and having a good predisposition as the most important factors for academic adaptation, but they also mention previous knowledge more than once. These three factors are also mentioned by Sarah. However, when referring to the main participants there are different perspectives. Whereas the Castilian compensatory teacher considers the constant interaction of Sarah and Jazmín with only female Moroccan immigrants a problem for academic adaptation, the receptionist looks at that interaction as helpful for the girls, because they seem happy and they dare to do things that the more isolated Moroccan girls who wear the hijab do not do.

To conclude, according to the number of comments, it seems that male Spanish classmates are the party with the least interest in the concept of academic success, whereas immigrant female students, teachers and personnel at the high school seem to find it more important.

Category 7: "Social Success"

From the main participants' perspective

SOSU-Social success (as perceived by the main participants): those behaviours and communication situations that the participants perceive as contributing factors for social success or social failure.

Example 7- A 2

J: Jazmín (participante principal)
I: Investigadora
I-Vale, ahora, vamos a hablar de tu experiencia personal, ¿te acuerdas?, desde todo el tiempo que has estado y todo eso. ¿Tú te has adaptado, estás contenta ahora aquí en el instituto? ¿estás contenta?
J-Sí.
I-¿En estos dos años, cuál ha sido el momento en que has estado más contenta? ¿al principio, hace un tiempo, ahora?
J-Ahora que estoy, uh, con más amigos.
I-¿por qué estás más contenta ahora?
J-Porque estoy tranquila.
I-¿Por qué no tienes estrés de que no entiendes las cosas?
J-Eso un poquito.
I-y por qué ya tienes amigos o..? Qué es lo que te da tranquilidad? Qué cosas hacen que estés tranquila?
J-pos tengo amigos.
I-Y por ejemplo, al principio suspendías en los exámenes? O siempre has aprobado?
J-No que, si, siempre he aprobado.
I-Entonces eso no te ponía nerviosa, la escuela no te ponía muy nerviosa, no?
J-No

Translation
J: Jazmín (main participant)
I: Researcher
I: Ok, now, let's talk about your personal experience, do you remember all the time you've been here and all that? Have you adapted? Are you happy here in the high school now? Are you happy?
J: Yes.
R: What has been the best moment where you have been the happiest in the last two years? At the beginning, long time ago or now?
J: Now that I'm, uh, with more friends.
R: Why are you happier now?
J: Because I'm more relaxed.
R: Is that because you don't feel stressed for not understanding things?
J: That's right. A little bit.
R: And because you have friends or...? What is what makes you feel relaxed? What are the things that make you feel relaxed?
J: Well I have friends.
R: And for example, at the beginning did you fail exams? Or you always passed?
J: No, yes, I have always passed.
R: So that didn't make you feel nervous, school didn't make you feel nervous, right?
J: Right.

Jazmín here feels better and happier now than when she arrived in Spain because she has friends. She also mentions that having friends (without gender

distinction) has helped to feel calm. When asked about studies, Jazmín explains that she has always passed her exams and that she does not get stressed because of her studies. As table 7-A below shows, this is the only comment of Jazmín, whereas Sarah expands in three comments.

Table 7-A

Social success as perceived by the main participants (number of comments)

Observing and observed party	Jazmín	Sarah	Total
Not being successful	0	1	1
Being somewhat successful	0	1	1
Being successful	1	1	2
Total number of comments	1	3	4

From the table we can observe that Sarah has three comments referring to positive and negative aspects. Jazmín has only one comment that refers to her positive social adaptation.

Sarah and Jazmín feel happy because they both have friends at present. However, Sarah mentions more factors that are important for her to feel happy: good relationships with teachers and academic success, and her extended family. Also, regarding friendships, Sarah adds that it is not good to be jealous.

From the network members' perspective

2SOSU-Social success (as perceived by others): those behaviours and communication situations that the network members perceive as contributing factors for social success or social failure.

Example 7- B5

A: Alejandro (compañero de clase español, su madre es española y su padre marroquí)

I: Investigadora
I: Muy bien. Cuáles crees tú que son las cosas más difíciles para tus amigas de clase?
A: No sé.
I: Qué crees que les cuesta más?

A: Estudiar no les cuesta, porque son listas. No sé, a lo mejor el hablar con otros compañeros que son españoles. A lo mejor eso les cuesta un poco más.
I: Aha. Y tú por qué crees que es eso?
A: Porque han venido de otro país y no saben que hacer aquí.

Translation

A: Alejandro (male Spanish classmate, his mother is Spanish and his father is Moroccan)
I: Researcher
I: Ok. What do you think are the hardest things for your classmates?
A: I don't know.
I: What do you think is the hardest thing for them?
A: It's not hard for them to study because they are smart. I don't know. Maybe to talk to other classmates that are Spanish. Maybe that's the hardest thing for them.
I: Aha, Why do you think so?
A: Because they come from another country and they don't know what to do here.

In this example, Alejandro asserts that Sarah and Jazmín are clever and do not have problems with their studies, but they might have problems making friends. He associates these problems to the fact that the two girls being new have trouble following Spanish customs.

Intra-group member parties

Party: "Female non-Arabic immigrant classmate"

Table 7-B1

Social success as perceived by the intragroup members I (number of comments)

Observing party	female Non-Arabic immigrant classmate (1)					
Observed party	Jazmín	Sarah	Both	Arabic immigrants	Immigrants in general	Total
Not being successful	0	0	0	0	0	0
Being somewhat successful	0	0	0	0	1	1
Being successful	0	0	1	0	1	2
N. total comments	0	0	1	0	2	3

Marisa refers mainly to positive aspects of social adaptation of Sarah and Jazmín in particular, and to immigrant students in general (table 7-B1). Marisa considers that adaptation comes when you can speak the language and make friends. She asserts that Sarah and Jazmín do not have problems with that, but they need to improve their Spanish, especially Jazmín. As for her personal success in the future,

Marisa highlights the importance of finishing her studies and the potential help of her Spanish boyfriend.

Party: "Female Arabic immigrant classmate"

Table 7-B2

Social success as perceived by the intragroup members II (number of comments)

Observing party	female Arabic immigrant classmate (1)					
Observed party	Jazmín	Sarah	Both	Arabic immigrants	Immigrants in general	Total
Not being successful	0	0	0	0	0	0
Being somewhat successful	0	0	1	0	0	1
Being successful	0	0	1	0	0	1
N. total comments	0	0	2	0	0	2

Both comments of Karima, the female Arabic immigrant classmate, refer specifically to some social success of her friends Sarah and Jazmín (table 7-B2). Karima considers that they do not have problems socializing, with their male Spanish classmates or in classes. She perceives Sarah and Jazmín as more integrated in 3D class than her. However, she perceives negatively that they talk too much during class time.

Party: "Male Spanish classmates"

Table 7-B3

Social success as perceived by the intragroup members III (number of comments)

Observing party	male Spanish classmates (4)				
Observed party	Both	Arabic immigrants	Female Arabic immig	Male Arabic immigrants	Total
Not being successful	6	0	0	0	6
Being somewhat successful	1	0	0	0	1
Being successful	2	1	1	1	5
N. total comments	9	1	1	1	12

Male Spanish classmates mainly comment on the social success of Sarah and Jazmín and their perceptions are quite negative (table 7-B3). They agree on the fact that the main participants are making good academic progress, but they continue to have difficulties on interacting with Spanish people, mainly because of their negative attitude, and their persistent isolation, only interacting with other female immigrant students in the class. However, some male Spanish classmates perceive their interactions with Sarah and Jazmín very positively, even though they are infrequent and based on mutual insults. About Moroccan immigrant students in general, male Spanish peers mention two cases of successful adaptation: a Moroccan girl who is studying the same materials as Spaniards and gets along well with everybody at the high school; and the only male Moroccan classmate in 3D, who gets along very well with male classmates, but he gets bad grades.

Inter-group network members

Party: "Teachers"

Table 7-B4

Social success as perceived by the intergroup members I (number of comments)

Observing party	Teachers (5)				
Observed party	Arabic immigrants	Female Arabic immig.	Male Arabic immigrants	Immigrants in general	Total
Not being successful	2	2	0	3	7
Being somewhat successful	0	0	0	0	0
Being successful	1	0	1	2	4
N. total comments	3	2	1	5	11

Teachers mainly comment on the lack of success of immigrants in general and Arabic immigrants, particularly females (table 7-B4). They express their concern about the lack of social integration of immigrant students with Spanish students. They

assert that in many cases immigrant and local students do not mix but they create "ghettos". As for Moroccan immigrant students, teachers add that male and female Moroccan students also keep separate, and that Moroccan boys' social integration is faster and more complete than that of Moroccan girls. Finally, teachers recommend that all immigrant students be open-minded, empathic, and they recommend to Moroccan immigrants that they not be too radical with religious issues.

Parties: "psychologist and Vice-Principal "

Table 7-B5

Social success as perceived by the intergroup members II

Observing party	Psychologist (1)	Vice-Principal (1)		
Observated party	Arabic immigrants	Arabic immigrants	Immigrants in general	Total
Not being successful	0	0	0	0
Being somewhat successful	1	0	0	1
Being successful	0	1	1	2
N. total comments	1	1	1	3

The psychologist and the Vice-Principal comment on some positive aspects of social adaptation of Moroccan immigrant students and immigrants in general (table 7-B5). The Vice-Principal focuses on personal positive characteristics such as good predisposition and being open minded. The psychologist focuses on the contexts of family and the town where the particular immigrant students have to live. He specifically refers to Moroccan girls and he considers that differences in their adaptation do not depend as much on personal characteristics as on external factors such as family pressure (depending on how traditional they are) or the town where they live (depending on the size and the openness of its inhabitants).

Parties: "Receptionist and cafeteria staff "

Table 7-B6

Social success as perceived by the intergroup members III (number of comments)

Observing party	Receptionist (1)			Cafeteria Staff (2)			
Observated party	Both	Male Arab immigrants	Female Arab immig.	Arab immigrants	Female Arab immig.	Male Arab immigrants	Total
Not being successful	0	0	1	1	1	1	4
Being somewhat successful	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Being successful	2	1	0	0	1	1	5
N. total comments	2	1	1	1	2	2	9

In the abundant comments from the cafeteria staff and the receptionist, the former focus more on lack of success in general whereas the receptionist also refers to the positive success of both main participants (table 7-B6). Both parties are of the opinion that Moroccan students behave differently depending on gender. However, the receptionist perceives Moroccan boys as more socially integrated than Moroccan girls, who tend to keep isolated, specially the ones that wear the hijab. The cafeteria staff has mostly negative comments about male Moroccan students, although they mention an exception of a boy who knows about companionship and even makes jokes.

General conclusions: Category of Social Success

All interviewees agree that to be socially successful means to make friends. However, whereas Sarah and Jazmín assert that they feel socially successful because they have friends this year, other parties mention that the two girls are not socially adapted because they do not have any Spanish friends, and they do not interact normally with people in general, but they tend to keep separate and in a "ghetto".

Male Spanish classmates insult the two main participants and make jokes. Whereas the boys consider it their normal way of relating to all peers, Sarah and Jazmín take it as racism and lack of respect, and this is one of the reasons Jazmín avoids interacting with them and Sarah interacts only aggressively with insults in Arabic or when she needs help with practical issues. This reaction is perceived by male Spanish peers as Sarah and Jazmín not making efforts to adapt. Also, male peers think that talking and insulting in Arabic does not help.

Most teachers and the Vice-Principal assert that Moroccan immigrants do not make any effort to socially adapt. However, Papallona, the teacher who seems to be closer to immigrant students, asserts that Moroccan immigrant newcomers have special problems to socially adapt at the beginning because of lack of competence in Castilian and Valencian, and also because of the stronger cultural differences.

A distinction can be made between those (i.e. Angela, Marisa, Karima, other teachers) who perceive that interacting amongst Moroccan students is positive, and those (i.e. Papallona and Gauss) who think that it is negative. The positive arguments are that the interactions between and among Moroccan students prevent them from feeling isolated and they are empowered to do more things. The negative issues pointed out are that an excessive interactions amongst Moroccan students limits the improvement of their Castilian language skills and their opportunities to make Spanish friends, because they create a "ghetto" among themselves. Moreover, the psychologist explains that in the case of Moroccan girls, differences in the social adaptation depend very much on external factors such as family pressure or the town where they live. Finally, the receptionist and the cafeteria staff make a distinction of success depending on gender. Whereas the cafeteria staff consider that Moroccan girls

are more socially successful, the receptionist observes Moroccan male students as more integrated in groups with Spanish students.

General conclusions of the analysis

The main participants are understood by some network members as newcomer students who need to learn a new language and adapt to a new educational system. However, Spanish network members do not understand their Moroccan Muslim traditions and in many cases they find them inappropriate and do not respect them. As a consequence, Sarah and Jazmín do not feel valued by their Spanish network members and react by keeping distant or insulting Spanish peers in Arabic. This reaction is also deemed inappropriate by Spanish network members, who assert that Sarah and Jazmín do not make enough efforts to socially adapt to the Spanish high school. Instead, Spanish network members consider that they would be more effective if they stop some of their Muslim traditions and moved to Western practices.

Jazmín and Sarah perceive themselves as socially adapted and, while they would like to make Spanish friends, they do not intend to make any effort in this area. Instead, they focus mainly on their academic success, which they are accomplishing according to all Spanish and non Spanish parties. However, it seems that Sarah is more academically successful than Jazmín.

As will be studied in the discussion section, the differences between Spanish and Moroccan cultures influence the process of building the new identity of the main participants. Some Muslim traditions and the perceived discrimination against women seem to be the issues most rejected by Spanish network members. Also, at the personal level, the different expectations for gender interactions and teenage behaviour in the Spanish and Moroccan culture will influence Sarah's and Jazmín's

process of adaptation among peers. However, the effect will differ depending on the different personalities and background of each main participant.

The next chapter will also explain the relationships of the main participants with teachers. The Moroccan cultural model is more hierarchical than the Spanish one, and parents have a stricter attitude towards studies, especially with female Moroccan students. This factor will contribute to a good relationship of the main participants with their teachers and personnel at the high school and their academic success. The situation would be different if the main participants were male Moroccan students.

CHAPTER 3: DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Discussion

This section reflects on those factors that contributed to success in the adaptation of Moroccan immigrant students in a Spanish high school based on the case of two female Moroccan teenagers. The findings from the present research are integrated with those from previous studies, as many of the factors found here have already been deeply analyzed in different areas of research, such as Education, Sociology and Pedagogical Theory. However, the contribution of this research is to discover which of these factors are present and salient according to the perceptions of the Moroccan female newcomers and the actual parties who interact with them. This research also takes into account the particular role their gender plays in a classroom in which most of their classmates are Spanish males. As in the analysis section, these perceptions are organized around seven main categories, three related to feelings ("Being Understood", "Being Valued" and "Being Respected"), two related to behaviours ("Effectiveness" and "Appropriateness") and the last two regarding the concept of success ("Academic Success" and "Social Success").

Categories of "Being Understood", "Being Valued" and "Being Respected"

Categories of "Being Understood", "Being Valued" and "Being Respected" according to the main participants

For the purposes of the discussion, these three categories that refer to feelings are grouped because the two main participants comment on all of them together and at the same time. A separation would make information repetitive and redundant for the reader.

According to Ting-Toomey (2005), "satisfactory identity negotiation outcomes include the feelings of being understood, respected, and affirmatively valued" (p.218). In this study, the degree to which the two main participants feel themselves as being understood, respected, and affirmatively valued contribute to explain how satisfied they are with their identity negotiation outcome. The perceptions of network members about these three feelings regarding the two main participants also influenced that outcome.

Ting-Toomey (2005) explains that "the feeling of being understood is one of the most powerful means of being validated at both group membership and personal identity levels. This feeling implies empathy, although not necessarily agreement" (p. 218). She also asserts that feeling affirmatively valued implies that members of minority and sometimes stigmatized groups feel themselves as "worth-while" individuals in the context of the larger culture. Conversely, stigmas on the desired group membership identities make individuals experience identity differentiation instead of feeling included. She also links Identity Negotiation Theory (Ting-Toomey, 2005) with Integrative Theory (Kim, 2001), and she concludes that the feeling of being positively valued is related to the host receptivity, and the interaction potential offered to the newcomer. Finally, a lack of respect will reduce the identity satisfaction of the immigrant newcomers.

In the case of Spanish high schools, Pascual (1991) asserts that "among teachers, racism is present, hidden or explicitly, as well as some personal ethnocentric prejudices against Muslim people" (Pascual, 1991, as cited in Regil Amorena, 2004, p. 139); Ortí Teruel (2004) also refers to these xenophobic attitudes. In this study, the main participants, Sarah and Jazmín, feel respected, understood, positively valued, and supported by some teachers, male Spanish classmates and Spanish people in

general, but they complain about others. Sarah and Jazmín dislike that some male Spanish classmates are racists and make jokes and that some teachers are also racists.

Alegre Canosa (2004) also mentions the racism and xenophobic feelings among high school Spanish students, mainly caused by the Spaniards' lack of knowledge about the origin culture of the newcomers, as well as the lack of interaction between Spaniards and newcomer students. As Gumperz (1982) explains, the intercultural interaction in the classroom might create a problem of minorization, i.e. the creation of negative judgements that arise from a frustrating communication experience (Gumperz, 1982, as cited in Ortí Teruel, 2004). Therefore, Alegre Canosa (2004) advises the increase of contact between Spanish and immigrant students to help eliminate stereotypes and racist attitudes.

In this research, the main participants and their male peers agree that things have improved throughout the courses. They maintain that now the girls do not take things as seriously anymore, and male Spanish students do not get so angry if the Moroccan girls talk in Arabic. However, a male Spanish classmate still asserts that in a previous course he had more Arabic and Romanian male peers in his classroom and their relationship was better compared to his relationship with Sarah and Jazmín. This could be an indicator that gender has a role to play in the interaction. Also, Jazmín thinks that male Spanish peers are racist and there is nothing she can do to prevent it; Sarah limits her expectations about male Spanish students' friendship to practical help, whereas she highlights her appreciation of teachers being friendly and helpful. This last comment confirms Ortí Teruel's (2004) observations about Moroccan immigrant students appreciating the closer relationship with some of their teachers in contrast with the expected role of teachers in the Arabic cultural pattern which is more distant, and less friendly. Also, the respectful relationship with the teachers will be culturally

familiar to the Moroccan students, as Moroccan Muslim tradition expects students to be respectful and to have a positive relationship with teachers (Regil Amorena 2004).

To conclude, it seems that more emphasis on the feelings and expectations of all those interacting would help to improve identity negotiation outcomes and relationships of the main participants and immigrant newcomers in general. More knowledge and tolerance about the culture of the other seems necessary but this should be imparted and encouraged using an empathy building approach. Simply providing information without considering feelings or emotions will not be effective. Instead, the use of the methodology of ethnography of communication in some courses such as languages or social studies could create a much wider understanding.

Category of "Being Understood" according to network members

According to Kim (2001), the distance between home/origin and host cultures will make the processes of cross-cultural adaptation harder. The distance between Spanish and Moroccan cultures makes the process of adaptation of Moroccan students very difficult (Regil Amorena, 2004; Ortí Teruel, 2004).

In the present study, male Spanish classmates, teachers, and staff at the high school perceive Moroccan immigrants in general and Sarah and Jazmín in particular as unwilling to adapt. According to these network parties, Sarah and Jazmín do not make efforts to socialize with Spanish students or even with male Moroccan students, but they keep apart in "ghettos". Nevertheless, the Compensatory Castilian teacher and the tutor teacher attribute this isolation and use of Arabic language to their lack of competence in Castilian language and to the Spanish culture. However, the Compensatory teacher still complains that Jazmín and Sarah relate mostly with female Moroccan girls and tend to talk only in Arabic because it does not help them to learn Castilian language and to adapt. Conversely, the receptionist highlights her

observation of Sarah and Jazmín interacting with Marisa, the Romanian classmate, and she considers this behaviour to be completely normal since same age Spanish girls from another town outside of Benimasa would do the same, they would go all together and help each other. The receptionist's perception confirms Ting-Toomey's (2005) assertion that "individuals tend to experience interaction predictability when communicating with those who are culturally familiar others, and this leads to trust. Otherwise, they might feel unpredictability and distrust" (p. 218). In terms of Integrative Theory (Kim, 2001) this intragroup networking is good as the first step in adaptation. However, if the links with the ethnic group are too tight, as it seems to be in the case of the Arabic culture, it could impede a completely successful cross-cultural adaptation, as predicted by the Compensatory Castilian teacher.

Regil Amorena (2004) explains that Moroccan Muslim culture determines that all male and female children under approximately seven years old (age of male circumcision) are totally equal and can share the same spaces. However, after that age, female children have to be separated from male children or adults and be kept in private spaces. The assumption of some teachers that male and female Moroccan students do not interact with each other because they are not willing to make the effort and not because they are following their cultural pattern is an example illustrating how a lack of cultural knowledge can lead to misunderstandings and false or negative perceptions of others.

Teachers and personnel can better understand the more positive and submissive attitude of Moroccan girls. In fact, one teacher mentions that this good behaviour in class is something from which Spanish students could learn. Conversely, teachers do not understand or tolerate the lack of interest on the part of most Moroccan boys and, particularly, their lack of respect towards female authority at the

high school. This different behaviour between genders can be attributed to the fact that in Arabic cultures, female behaviour is more regulated than that of males (Ortí Teruel, 2004). Moreover, the hierarchical structure of Moroccan culture establishes that males after seven years old (or circumcision) will stand hierarchically over females (Regil Amorena, 2004).

The psychologist refers to the lack of understanding of many Moroccan families when their female children start changing behaviours to a more Western style. Again, this familiar response can be attributed to the more regulated female behaviour (Ortí Teruel, 2004; Regil Amorena, 2004). Also, according to Phinney (1990, 1991, 1992 as cited in Ting-Toomey, 2005), family security and openness will be micro factors that contribute to a competent intercultural communication. In this case, the lack of openness, particularly for females, increases the difficulties.

Finally, all network parties express their empathy for the two Moroccan girls and for immigrant Moroccan students in general over their language difficulties, their difficulty making friends, and the entire process of entering a new culture. Also, some Spanish male classmates express their compassion for immigrants in general, who arrive in Spain because of the poverty in their home country. In Ting-Toomey (2005) terms, this empathic attitude could contribute to newcomer students feeling understood and validated.

As explained by the literature mentioned above, it can be concluded that the lack of knowledge about the differences between the Spanish and the Moroccan cultural patterns is the main cause of misunderstanding and intolerance between the main participants and their Spanish network members when they interact. It could also be added that the relevance of the cultural differences prevails in many cases over the interpersonal relationship between individuals.

The factors of understanding and positive personal predisposition were cited as important factors for success in this study. These have neither been thoroughly examined in previous literature nor considered in the implementation of "Incorporation Programs" involving all participant members in the process of integration. These existing positive attitudes could be promoted and rewarded by the educational system in future programs.

Category of "Being Valued" according to network members

The female Romanian classmate feels that herself, Sarah and Jazmín have a good relationship with their male Spanish classmates, though she wishes for a group attitude whereby all classmates support each other instead of fighting amongst themselves. Conversely, a male Spanish classmate expresses his support for the only male Moroccan student in the classroom, but asserts that he would never defend his female Moroccan classmates and he would not even work with them. This male Spanish classmate mentions that sometimes Sarah and Jazmín insult him in Arabic and he replies with more insults. When the girls complain to the teachers, the teachers discipline him, but not the Moroccan girls. However, another male Spanish classmate differentiates between Sarah and Jazmín. He and Sarah fight and insult each other, but he does not have problems with Jazmín because she keeps silent.

In the previous examples, the reasons for male Spanish peers not valuing the Moroccan girls could be associated with the previous prejudices of male Spanish students. Male Spanish classmates also acknowledge that some Spanish people are racist and insult Moroccan immigrants in general. However, the co-cultural practices or strategies of adaptation of the Moroccan girls also influence the male Spanish classmates' reactions. These reactions could also be associated to the different cultural patterns of male Spanish classmates and the two Moroccan girls. Once again, the

distance between both cultures can originate adverse receptivity (Kim, 2001). However, Alejandro, the male Spanish classmate whose father is Moroccan, explains that despite Spanish people insulting Moroccans, they are starting to become friends. This comment suggests a positive dynamic process.

As for intergroup network members, teachers mention their efforts to consider all students equally, without discrimination. The Compensatory Castilian teacher, in particular mentions that she asks immigrant students to talk about themselves in order to get to know them better and to increase their confidence in class. Also the tutor in the 3D group explains that he tries to befriend Sarah and Jazmín and he asks them to avoid speaking in Arabic so that the other students will not perceive them differently. These comments confirm Alegre Canosa's (2004) findings that Compensatory teachers and tutors have the main role among education staff to help in the incorporation of immigrant students, as well as the fact that many teachers fall back on their own willingness to help newcomer immigrant students. Finally, the Castilian mainstream teacher adds that to take the time to talk to the newcomer students and to be more sympathetic to them would be really helpful, although she acknowledges that because of the lack of time or teachers' predisposition, it is not done. Regil Amorena (2004) and Alegre Canosa (2004) also mention the limitations that teachers face because of their lack of resources and time in many cases. They also point out however, that sometimes there is an unwillingness on the part of some teachers to adapt to immigrant newcomers. Other teachers want to deal with all the students the same way: in some cases this is done in the name of equality, but also sometimes it is done with the secondary purpose of *librarse de ellos* 'to get rid of them (referring to immigrant Moroccan students) as soon as possible' (Regil Amorena, 2004, p.139). Alegre Canosa (2004) also points out that it is the responsibility of the entire

community, and not only the tutor or the Compensatory teacher (p. 179) to help in the successful incorporation of immigrant newcomer students. However, the potential of extending this responsibility to Spanish students and how this could be effectively implemented would be a worthy future study.

Category of "Being Respected" according to network members

Marisa, the female Romanian classmate, and the male Spanish classmates agree with the main participants' perception that there are some racist classmates and teachers. However, Marisa seems to find the attitude of male Spanish classmates less offensive than Jazmín and Sarah do, and, in general, she considers all classmates in the 3D group as good friends in general. Also, the Spanish classmates assert that they do not mean to be disrespectful with their insults, but that this is simply their way of communicating, and that everybody has a nickname in the class. Some teachers also confirm that they perceive the insults of male Spanish classmates as a typical way of teenagers communicating or a macho attitude towards all the girls more than a racist behaviour. According to Ting-Toomey (2005), "individuals tend to experience emotional security in a culturally familiar environment" (p. 218).The fact that Romanian culture is closer to Spanish culture than Moroccan culture, could facilitate Marisa's higher tolerance of the insults and jokes of male Spanish classmates, whereas Jazmín and Sarah might feel more emotionally insecure facing the same insults and jokes.

Spanish teachers also acknowledge a lack of respect in Spanish society for the immigrant population. Also, the Vice-Principal mentions that she has heard some xenophobic comments that are based on fears about immigrants taking jobs or school places. She refutes that argument but highlights the need to teach students how to be more tolerant and open-minded. Again, these comments point out the need for

knowledge about the differences between cultures and willingness to understand these differences in order to have a competent intercultural communication or interaction. Also, it seems necessary to change the perspective on how the immigration issue is perceived by Spanish students.

The female Romanian classmate and all intergroup members also comment on the lack of respect of male Moroccans towards females (Moroccan and non Moroccan). According to Ortí Teruel (2004) this attitude goes against the more dynamic model of society in Northern Mediterranean cultures, which have social norms that emphasize equality in rights and duties without distinction based on gender, religion or origin. Indeed, gender and age determine the communicative interaction more in the Arabic culture than in the Spanish culture, and there are many examples in the literature of a higher level of regulation of female behaviour than male behaviour in the Arabic speaking community (Y. Aixelá Cabré, 200; F. Mernissi, 1990 and 1994, as cited in Ortí Teruel, 2004). Also, as mentioned before, traditionally, males after circumcision are expected to be obeyed and respected by women of all ages in their family (Regil Amorena, 2004).

Finally, the Vice-Principal gives an example of a male Moroccan student who is respected by all his Spanish peers, and she links it with his personality. However, this could also be associated with gender issues and the fact that the behaviour of male students is not so regulated. In Kim's (2001) terms, the Arabic ethnic group does not exert such a strong pressure over its male members, and therefore, the environmental conditions are more favourable to male Moroccan students. However, the strong regulation of female behaviour helps them to be more academically successful.

To conclude, with regards to the outcomes from the categories related to feelings, the literature does not yet examine the actual feelings of Spanish teachers and students or those of immigrant newcomers. Although this would require a more psycho-sociological approach, feelings would be a worthwhile component to study as they are the origins of reactions, attitudes and behaviours that carry the problems of racism, discrimination, isolation, or aggressive interactions.

Category of "Appropriateness"

From the main participants' perspective

Sarah and Jazmín coincide in their opinions about what is appropriate according to their Muslim culture: being respectful to teachers, not eating pork or meat that is not *halal*, not smoking or drinking alcohol, not relating with male students, and only having female friends. Using Ting-Toomey's (2005) terminology, to follow these appropriate behaviours helps to fulfill the expectations of the cultural identity of the two Moroccan female teenagers. Sarah and Jazmín also agree on the inappropriate behaviour of some network members that will impede having a mindful, intercultural communication. They refer to male Spanish classmates, who insult female Moroccan classmates, and to teachers who do not discipline male classmates for those insults or teachers who are racists.

Sarah and Jazmín's reactions to inappropriate behaviours coincide when there is a hierarchical relationship. Both girls tend to use the co-cultural practice of developing a positive face with teachers and avoiding controversy with racist teachers. This confirms Ortí Teruel's (2004) observations that the Arabic cultural pattern is more concerned about conflict in hierarchical interactions. Also, when comparing Moroccan and Spanish society, both girls emphasize commonalities. Jazmín mentions that both cultures forbid talking in libraries. Sarah personalizes her example more and

explains that she is able to eat at the cafeteria and she also uses the additional co-cultural practice of mirroring Spanish culture when she says that she does not go to discos because she is under sixteen, not because of her religion.

In reaction to perceived inappropriate behaviours of equals, Jazmín and Sarah both use the co-cultural practice of intragroup, i.e., they only relate with female immigrant students from Moroccan or from a different ethnic group who also suffer from racism or differentiation. Alegre Canosa (2004) confirms that this is a tendency in high schools settings in Spain.

However, Sarah and Jazmín react very differently to the perceived insults and jokes of male Spanish classmates. In terms of Co-Cultural Theory (Orbe, 1998), Sarah uses aggressive strategies such as confronting male students, attacking or sabotaging them by using Arabic to insult the boys. The interesting point here is that Sarah considers male Spanish classmates to be on the same equal footing as her, despite the gender differentiation and distance prescribed by the Moroccan Muslim cultural pattern. However, Soriano Miras and Santos Bailón (2002) argue that the hierarchical structure does not apply the same way when entering a new culture and indeed, avoiding hierarchical structures is one of the reasons why some female Moroccans immigrate to Western countries. It should also be noted that since Sarah comes from a big city, Casablanca, she is in fact more familiar with Western traditions, as she asserts in her interview. This tendency towards Western styles in Moroccan cities is also mentioned in literature (e.g. Soriano Miras & Santos Bailón, 2002; Regil Amorena, 2004). Nevertheless, even though Jazmín comes from Tetuan, another big city in Morocco, she pays more attention to Muslim prescriptions and uses non-assertive co-cultural practices such as censoring herself in front of insults, avoiding interaction, or maintaining barriers with male classmates (Spanish and also with the

Moroccan male classmate). Therefore, it could be concluded that other factors such as family openness or personality might explain these different behaviours of the two main participants.

From the network members' perspective

Classmates and teachers agree that the two main participants behave properly in the academic sense because they study hard, and they are respectful to teachers. However, male Spanish classmates and teachers find it inappropriate that the two Moroccan girls speak Arabic in class, and also that they keep isolated and only interact with other Moroccan girls. However, these behaviours are not unique to Sarah and Jazmín, but they confirm the general pattern of behaviour of female Moroccan students in many other Spanish high schools (Alegre Canosa, 2004; Regil Amorena, 2004).

Male Spanish students also complain about Sarah insulting them in Arabic. Marisa, the Romanian female classmate finds it inappropriate that Sarah and Jazmín have to follow so many regulations because of the Muslim religion, and that these regulations do not apply to male Moroccan students. Again, this observation confirms extensive literature that explains that the behaviour of female members of Arabic cultures is more regulated than that of males. All classmate parties consider the discriminatory and racist behaviour on the part of some teachers inappropriate, as commented in the category of "Being Respected". As for the high school, male Spanish classmates find it appropriate that Sarah and Jazmín receive adapted materials, and Marisa mentions that it is not appropriate that immigrant students in general get different exams when they have a similar language proficiency.

Regarding Arabic culture specifically, teachers and male Spanish classmates mention that they find some Muslim traditions as practiced in some countries

inappropriate, such as wearing the hijab and exaggerated or even radical religious practices and beliefs. Also, some teachers, the Vice-Principal and the cafeteria staff mention that Moroccan men are disrespectful to Moroccan and Spanish women whereas Moroccan women are too submissive; intergroup parties also assert that macho attitudes should be changed. This corroborates Kim's (2001) hypothesis that a large distance between the origin and the host culture generates more demanding expectations and less tolerance from the host culture.

Category of "Effectiveness"

From the main participants' perspective

Sarah and Jazmín have a common opinion about the effectiveness of studying hard to adapt well at the Spanish high school. This can be associated to the Moroccan cultural expectations transmitted through the families about children studying hard at school (Regil Amorena, 2004). As mentioned before, Sarah and Jazmín also appreciate a close relationship with teachers, and they find it effective in their adaptation process. The two main participants also think that Spanish peers and teachers can help them with the Spanish language.

The main difference between Sarah's and Jazmín's perceptions is that Jazmín would also consider it helpful to be good friends with Spanish classmates. This confirms Ting-Toomey's (2005) assertion that "individuals tend to desire interpersonal connection via meaningful close relationships, which can create additional emotional security and trust across cultures" (p. 218). On the contrary, as mentioned before, Sarah seems to expect only practical help from male Spanish classmates, such as getting directions, but she does not mention the possibility of friendship with them. In Ting-Toomey's (2005) terms, Sarah prefers identity autonomy. The different preferences of Sarah and Jazmín can be associated with the

personal characteristics of each girl. Using Kim's (2001) terminology, Jazmín will be more sensitive to interpersonal relations whereas Sarah seems more goals oriented and practical. However, as it is the case with other categories, Sarah interacts with male students more than Jazmín, and adopts the same insulting manner used by them.

Jazmín would also like teachers to defend female immigrant students when they are insulted by male Spanish students. This is also related to the Moroccan cultural pattern where the role of the teacher is more authoritarian (Ortí Teruel, 2004) and the use of insults might be strongly disciplined. Also Soriano Miras and Santos Bailón (2002) assert that "Moroccan women have to assume their inferiority since childhood and that leads them to behave submissive and docile, and there will be severe corrective measures for any infraction to that rule" (p.171). It seems that Jazmín is more concerned than Sarah about this regulation; therefore, Jazmín appears disempowered to defend herself but instead waits for teachers to do so (or if they do not do so, it is done by Sarah or the third female Moroccan classmate in 3D).

These findings indicate that more in-depth studies are warranted on the correlation between personal predisposition (i.e. preparedness, openness, resilience, and personal strength) and effectiveness of immigrant adaptation in Spanish high school settings.

From the network members' perspective

Network members think that for a successful adaptation of Moroccan immigrant students in Spain, the newcomers (specifically Sarah and Jazmín) and also all Spanish network members should have a more positive attitude towards the other. This perception confirms the assumptions of Integrative Theory (Kim, 2001) about the receptivity of the host culture, which claims that the more favourable and receptive the cultural climate is for the arrival of strangers; the easier it is for the

strangers to adapt to the new culture. Also, Kim (2001) asserts that a good predisposition of the stranger towards the host culture is an important factor for cross-cultural adaptation.

Speaking specifically about Sarah and Jazmín, the classmates and teachers agree that they are doing academically well, but they need to improve their Castilian and Valencian languages skills and interact more with non-Moroccan students. Teachers mention that it is not helpful that Sarah and Jazmín speak Arabic in class. These comments are confirmed by Kim (2001), who asserts that knowledge of the host culture and language are components of the communication competence that are necessary in order to be successful in cross-cultural adaptation. Also, Kim (2001) mentions openness and willingness to participate in the host culture society as additional assets.

When referring to Moroccan students in general, all network members except for Alejandro (the male Spanish classmate whose father is from Morocco) would find it helpful if they changed some of their Muslim traditions such as wearing the hijab or religious practices that they consider inappropriate. According to Kim (2001) the distance in ethnic extrinsic markers (such as the hijab or skin color) and intrinsic markers (i.e. internalized beliefs, value orientations and norms) between both cultures will increase the difficulties in the adaptation.

Network members were also asked about the effectiveness of their behaviours that helped in the adaptation of Sarah and Jazmín and other immigrant students in general. According to classmates, teachers should help immigrant students by giving them more attention, but treating them equally in exams when they reach the appropriate level of language competence (these same suggestions can be found in Alegre Canosa, 2004). The tutor of 3D confirms that teenagers are very sensitive to

distinction among students of different origin, and they can easily feel discriminated against. Associated to this, Regil Amorena (2004) adds that Compensatory programs should also pay more attention to the feelings of discrimination that could arise due to the new regulation requiring a delay of two courses in order to be eligible to receive special attention with Compensatory Education. However, the tutor, male Spanish students and particularly the Romanian classmate refer to discrimination in the mainstream classroom context as well.

Male Spanish classmates could help the main participants with their Castilian and Valencian language skills and also by defending immigrant students as part of the group. This comment arises from the female Romanian classmate and can also be related to Ting-Toomey's (2005) assumption that "individuals tend to desire interpersonal connection via meaningful close relationships (e.g., in close friendship support situations)" (p.218). In Kim's (2005) terminology, this would mean positive host receptivity. In Orbe's (1998) terms, a favourable situation for intergroup networking will help in an accommodating strategy of adaptation to the host culture.

Regarding the high school, network members consider that the institution is doing well by giving immigrant newcomers adapted materials and, according to the Vice-Principal, it is good that immigrant newcomers join mainstream courses from the beginning but with a strong support of Compensatory Education. Conversely, some authors like Regil Amorena (2004) and Alegre Canosa (2004) doubt the efficiency of having newcomer students join mainstream courses from the very beginning before they know Spanish languages and culture. Both authors also state the need to increase the resources in programs for the incorporation for immigrant students. Despite the good evaluation of high school practices, some teachers mention that it would be effective to learn more about how to deal with immigrant students in

class. These claims are also made in Alegre Canosa (2004) and Regil Amorena (2004). The Vice-Principal also suggests courses in the Arabic language, a proposal also made in literature by other authors such as El-Ghazouani (2003) and Ortí Teruel (2004). However, these authors claim that is necessary to be aware of the multilingual situation in Morocco and decide which dialect of Arabic should be taught in order to really be effective in the high school setting.

The Vice-Principal and the Psychologist mention the course called "*Viaje a otras Culturas*" 'Travelling to other Cultures' as a measure of intercultural training. This course is the only effort to include background knowledge of non-Spanish cultures present at the high school into the curricula, something very necessary according to Alegre Canosa (2004). However, the particular course mentioned was optional and usually taken by only eight to ten students each term. Therefore, its scope and audience are very limited.

There were some comments from interviewees about other incorporation programs that are more successful than the one conducted in their high school. This highlights the difference in incorporation programs applied in different centers. In the literature, Alegre Canosa (2004) comments on some incorporation programs that seem to be successful in some centers in Catalonia (Spain).

To conclude, it is interesting that only two teachers mention that it would be good to learn more about Moroccan culture and none of the Spanish students interviewed mentions it explicitly. This might reflect that among the high school community in Benimasa, and particularly among students, there may not be enough awareness of the role of cultural understanding, its implications for relationships and successful adaptation. Also, they do not seem to be aware of the structural changes required to have competent intercultural communication in the new multicultural

society. According to Alegre Canosa (2004) and Regil Amorena (2004), this lack of awareness is present in many high schools in Spain.

At the micro level, it seems that the efforts of all parties and positive interactions are the most powerful tools to help in the adaptation of immigrant newcomers like Sarah and Jazmín. Again these two factors can be promoted through an ethnographic methodology that introduces empathy and mindful learning about the culture of the other.

Category of "Academic Success"

From the main participants' perspective

The main participants consider that academic success means to learn Castilian language, to study hard, to have a good relationship with teachers and to pass courses. As discussed before, the good relationship with teachers can be related to Muslim hierarchical culture, as the Koran prescribes children to obey their parents and later, teachers. Also, Moroccan children are expected to be good students, and as female children's behaviour is more regulated and they have been trained to be more submissive, they will fulfill these expectations in most cases, as mentioned before. Regil Amorena (2004) adds that going to school is the only chance that female teenagers have to access public space. This female effort could predict in Spain what French schools have already observed in second generation female Moroccan students who tend to study harder at school as a tool of emancipation. In fact, other research reports that when Moroccan females were asked, Morocco means "traditions" and Spain equates to "freedom" (Soriano Miras & Santos Bailón , 2002).

Sarah adds that academic success requires a good predisposition and effort. Jazmín asserts that to be academically successful means to pass courses. Both girls consider themselves academically successful, but Sarah emphasizes that she needs

and wants to study very hard. Sarah also adds that her previous knowledge in Physics and Chemistry helped her to adapt to the Spanish high school even when her knowledge of the Castilian language was still very weak. In Kim's (2001) terms, it seems that Sarah has a better predisposition (including preparedness, openness to new information, and resilience) to adapt successfully at least in the academic area.

Finally, both girls acknowledge that they need to improve their competence in Castilian and especially in Valencian language. As Kim (2001) mentions, the knowledge of the host culture and language is a necessary cognitive competence to reach a successful cross-cultural adaptation. In this case, Sarah and Jazmín only mentioned interest in the language and not in the culture. It could be relevant that in interviews with a female Algerian Muslim student (not included as data of the present study), she did make efforts to also learn the Spanish culture. Interestingly, that Algerian student perceived herself as socially and academically successful. Moreover, some of Jazmín's and Sarah's teachers were also her teachers, and they perceived this Algerian girl as being more successful in her academic and social adaptation than Sarah and Jazmín.

From the network members' perspective

All intragroup peers perceived that Sarah and Jazmín are doing well in their studies, but they still have some language problems. Male Spanish classmates do not make any distinction between Sarah and Jazmín. This could be related to the lack of interaction of male Spanish classmates with the girls. However, Marisa, the female Romanian classmate, and Karima, the female Moroccan classmate, coincide in saying that Sarah is doing much better than Jazmín. These comments seem to confirm Kim's (2001) theory about the influence of a good predisposition for a successful cross-cultural adaptation.

Regarding the definition of academic success, all peers mention that it is important not to fail courses. However, Marisa compares her attitude with the male Spanish classmates, and she does not understand that boys do not seem as worried about passing courses as she, Sarah and Jazmín. Marisa asserts that her family would be ashamed if she fails. From this comment it can be inferred that Spanish, Moroccan, and Romanian students coincide explicitly in the relevance of not failing courses. However, male Spanish students do not implicitly give such a high value to academic success, as most of them have failed their courses and have been expelled from the high school at least once for bad behaviour, and many of them will repeat courses. These implicit differences could be indicators of possible lower expectations in Spanish culture of teenagers in general, and of males in particular. Abundant literature explains that boys in general make less efforts to academically succeed. Also, Spanish cultural patterns tend to be less demanding of children and teenagers (Regil Amorena, 2004; Funes, 2004). An additional explanation can come from the historical characteristics of the centre, as mentioned by Alegre Canosa (2004). Before the Spanish Educational Reform of 1990, the high school in this study was a vocational college where students with bad records in their previous primary studies used to enrol. As a consequence, the image of the high school is still negative and many of its current students also had low academic profiles in primary school.

Moreover, the internal organization of the high school could be a relevant factor and does not seem to be studied from the perspective of intercultural integration. In the case of the present study, the particular group of 3D concentrates those students with behaviour and academic problems at the high school, and as a consequence, the expectations and standards required by teachers are reduced.

As for intergroup adult network members, good predisposition is a feature repeated by teachers, the psychologist, and the Vice-Principal as part of the concept of success. Moreover, previous knowledge is also a factor mentioned by the psychologist as one of the keys for academic adaptation. These factors are mentioned in Integrative Theory (Kim, 2001), which also highlights preparedness as one of the components of good predisposition to adapt to the new culture. Some teachers and the psychologist also mention the dynamic process of academic adaptation, and they consider good language competence to be the first step. This definition confirms Kim's (2001) approach on intercultural transformation, as she asserts that "successfully adapted strangers have accomplished a desired level of proficiency in communicating and developing a satisfactory relationship with the host environment -particularly with those individuals and situations that are of direct relevance to their daily activities" (p. 391).

It is interesting to note that while classmates perceive Sarah to be doing better than Jazmín, only one teacher perceives Jazmín as better adapted academically and the other teachers do not distinguish between Sarah and Jazmín. From the other intergroup network members, there is only one comment from the receptionist, who perceives Sarah and Jazmín as doing well with their studies because they participate and show interest by asking for photocopies. She contrasts this with the lack of interest that she perceives on the part of Muslim female students who wear the hijab.

Category of "Social Success"

All interviewees agree that to be socially successful means to make friends. However, whereas Sarah and Jazmín assert that they feel socially successful because they have friends this year, network parties mention that the two Moroccan girls are not socially adapted because they do not have any Spanish friends, and they do not

interact normally with people in general, but they tend to keep separate and in a "ghetto".

From the main participants' perspective

Sarah and Jazmín display different attitudes and behaviours in order to adapt socially. In the category of "Appropriateness" Sarah and Jazmín explained that it is not appropriate in their culture to talk to boys if they are not relatives. However, Sarah asserts that the Moroccan girls in the class have no qualms about talking to boys, and she has no quams either about talking to them or being touched by them. Furthermore, she even insults them in Arabic to defend herself. Sarah also adds that to be completely successful in her social adaptation, she should have Spanish friends, but she does not expect this to become a reality. These contradictory comments indicate that Sarah is challenging her Moroccan cultural traditions. Interestingly, she seems to have this challenging attitude towards some Muslim traditions since she was a child. In another excerpt she asserts that she used to play football with all boys in Casablanca (Morocco), despite that her father got angry about it. It is also possible that during her socialization stage Sarah experienced more intensively the evolution of Moroccan society than Jazmín. According to Soriano Miras and Santos Bailón (2002), Morocco is moving towards a modern openness where women are starting to vindicate their rights in private spaces and also are entering in the public space through education and paid work. However, it also seems that Sarah is displaying her assertive to aggressive personality, being very self-confident and autonomous, without expecting much from relationships with teenagers who know only Spanish culture. This last hypothesis seems to be confirmed in another example in which Sarah asserts that when relating to female Spanish girls, she is not going to talk to them if they do not talk to her. However, when communicating with teachers, using

Co-Cultural terms (Orbe, 1998), Sarah puts on a positive face and tries to be polite and behave as expected. Also when talking to the researcher, Sarah emphasizes commonalities between Spanish and Moroccan practices in cities like Casablanca and she also educates the researcher about her Moroccan Muslim heritage. In Kim's (2001) terminology, Sarah has a strong and positive personality, but she might lack empathy and openness towards her Spanish peers. However, keeping in mind Ting-Toomey's (2005) assumptions, Sarah's reaction to male Spanish classmates could be the result of experiencing emotional insecurity in a culturally unfamiliar environment.

Jazmín complains about the insults and jokes of male Spanish classmates and she expects teachers to punish those behaviours. As previously explained, this expectation could have a cultural origin, as in the Moroccan culture, teachers have more authority and there is a bigger hierarchical distance between teachers and students (Ortí Teruel, 2004; Regil Amorena, 2004). Also, the fact that Jazmín highlights insults and jokes as attacks towards her and her female Moroccan peers (and not as a part of the way teenagers "normally" treat each other in class) might be due to her lack of cultural knowledge of the host culture and by the distance between Spanish and Moroccan cultural patterns as described by Ortí Teruel (2004). Also, in Ting-Toomey's (2005) terms, Jazmín also seems to experience emotional insecurity in a culturally unfamiliar environment. Regarding her relationships in the class, Jazmín asserts that she is happy because she is good friends with the other female immigrant classmates, but she would expect also to be friends with the boys, which in Ting-Toomey's (2005) terms, could mean a need of interpersonal connection in order to feel emotional security and trust at the high school in Spain. However, when Jazmín is asked about what things limit her successful adaptation, she complains about racist classmates who treat her badly. When asked about what can she do to

improve the situation, she asserts that *no tengo que hacer nada porque ellos son así no quieren cambiar* 'I do not have to do anything because they [male Spanish classmates] are like that and they do not want to change'.

The only explicit efforts that Sarah and Jazmín mention to socially integrate, is to be good friends with female immigrant classmates. Again, in Co-cultural terms (Orbe, 1998), Sarah and Jazmín use the practice of intragroup networking in order to better integrate in the Spanish high school. However, Jazmín shows less resilience and a more negative attitude than Sarah when faced with the racism of classmates, and Jazmín does not have a sense of personal agency to change things, whereas Sarah defends herself using insults in Arabic.

Finally, Sarah also asserts that she misses her extended family and her Moroccan friends. For that reason she is not completely happy in Spain. This detail might be explored as a Moroccan cultural characteristic, as the extended family is more relevant in Morocco than in Spain (Regil Amorena, 2004), however, it is a normal and common complaint of immigrants who are far from their homeland and from a variety of origins.

To conclude, the more extended and critical comments of Sarah as compared to Jazmín show the different personal characteristics of the two girls. These differences influence the process of adaptation. Also the definition of successful adaptation and the expectations of Sarah are convergent with the positive factors defined by Kim (2001) as necessary for intercultural transformation (the last step in the cross-cultural adaptation) and Ting-Toomey's (2005) definition of competent identity negotiators as those who "are able to use multiple cultural frames of reference to interpret a problematic, cultural collision situation" (p.230). These abilities seem to be more present in Sarah's interviews than in Jazmín's.

Finally, when Sarah and Jazmín are asked about whom they most admire, Sarah responds that she admires her cousin who is studying to become a doctor, because she is like a sister and advises her on things that her parents do not know about. Jazmín admires her mother because of their closeness and her willingness to understand and advise her. These different frames of reference might also influence the attitudes and practices of each of the girls. This could explain more assertive and open comments from Sarah, compared to Jazmín, who remains more prudent and less critical in her answers.

From the network members' perspective

Male Spanish classmates perceive that Sarah and Jazmín keep isolated and distant from the rest and relate only with Moroccan girls and the female Romanian classmate. Spanish boys think that talking and insulting in Arabic does not help. They also perceive that Sarah and Jazmín do not make any effort to adapt socially and make Spanish friends. However, some male Spanish classmates also mention that they are already accustomed to hearing the female Moroccan classmates speaking in Arabic, and that now at the end of the course they insult each other as a communication tool. Following Kim's (2001) terminology, these comments would show some aspects of a negative predisposition on the part of the two main participants to adapt and on the part of the classmates to accept them, but there has been a positive progression along the academic course. This confirms the findings of the General Theory of Contact (Allport, 1954, as cited in Alegre Canosa, 2004) about the relevance of interracial contact in the changes of stereotypes and prejudices.

Teachers and personnel adopt different positions regarding Sarah's and Jazmín's social adaptation. As mentioned before, most teachers and the Vice-Principal assert that Moroccan immigrants do not make any effort to adapt socially,

but the Compensatory Castilian teacher explains that it is not a lack of effort but instead due to the special problems they have at the beginning because of lack of competence in Castilian and Valencian, and also because of the stronger cultural differences.

Network members adopt two different positions on the main participants' only interacting with female Moroccans: on one hand, those who perceive that interaction among Moroccan students is positive because it decreases their isolation and may therefore be empowered to do more things (the receptionist, the female Romanian classmate, the female Moroccan classmate, and some teachers) and; on the other hand, those who think that it is negative because it does not help them to improve their Castilian language skills and to make Spanish friends, because they create a "ghetto" (the Compensatory Castilian teacher and the 3D tutor). Orbe (1998) also explains the advantages and disadvantages of intragroup networking. On the one side, co-cultural group members feel supported by people of their same ethnic group. On the other side, if they do not start interacting with the host culture group members, their adaptation does not completely transpire.

The psychologist adds that in the case of Moroccan girls, differences in the social adaptation depend very much on external factors such as family pressures or the town where they live. According to Kim (2001), the ethnic group strength could inhibit the process of cross-cultural adaptation. Depending on the personality of the female Moroccan students and the rigidity of their families, the intercultural transformation may not become a reality. In the concrete cases of Sarah and Jazmín, it seems to be Sarah who challenges her culture more, but she also challenges Spaniards and limits her interaction with them, maintaining her autonomy.

Finally, the receptionist and the cafeteria staff make a distinction of social success depending on gender. While the cafeteria staff state that the girls are more socially successful, the receptionist observes Moroccan male students as more integrated in groups with Spanish students. The receptionist bases her perceptions on the groups that she observes during breaks. Conversely, the cafeteria staff seem to associate social success to displays of proper and respectful behaviour when immigrant students interact in the cafeteria area with themselves, teachers, or other students. Female Moroccan students meet these expectations whereas male Moroccan students have created conflict in this context, often because they challenge the female authority of female staff and teachers.

These different perceptions according to gender could be associated again to Moroccan cultural patterns that regulate that female Moroccans remain separate from males (Ortí Teruel, 2004). This separation, together with the language barrier and the more regulated behaviour of females could lead to a more obvious separation of female Moroccan students in groups during the breaks. However, among them, there is also a separation between those who wear the Arabic scarf and those who do not, as they do not mix. According to Soriano Miras and Santos Bailón (2002), the fact that female Moroccan students isolate themselves in high school is very negative as it is one of the reasons why many Moroccan female teenagers abandon their studies before finishing high school.

It would be fascinating to examine what male and female Moroccan students expect from life, and compare their expectations with their behaviour. The researcher hypothesizes that taking these expectations into account or even strongly encouraging these students to set higher personal life goals would lead them to act more effectively and to be more successful in their cross-cultural adaptation. Expectations can also

influence the outcome of intercultural interactions. In this study, for example, Sarah does not expect to have a friendly relationship with male Spanish students, and therefore she is not willing to make any effort in that direction. If Sarah's expectations about the relationships were higher and more positive, maybe the interaction would be different. Some male classmates also express their low expectations for interacting with Sarah and Jazmín. It would therefore be worthwhile to examine which factors influence the expectations, the role of gender on these expectations and how to create more positive expectations.

Factors studied in literature about multicultural adaptation in Spain that did not arise in the interviews

Despite the limited scope of the present study, it is significant that certain institutional weaknesses have not been mentioned by any of the interviewees. For example, Regil Amorena (2004) mentions the lack of adaptation of the Spanish curricula to the new diversity in the education system, and asserts that the Spanish curriculum instigates conflicts at home for students of Arabic origin. Also, according to Soto Aranda (2005),

> Western countries, despite their social policies, promote assimilation and expect that immigrants and immigrants' children will accept and assume not only their own traditions, language and socialization procedures of the host country, but additionally they are expected to accept and ascribe to the image of themselves [immigrants and their children] as a community that the dominant culture has built in the collective imaginary. (p. 12)

The fact that most Spanish network members in this study do not mention institutional factors could indicate a lack of awareness of the need for systemic changes or the potential long term implications of not meeting the needs of the

multicultural composition of Spanish high schools. Without a better understanding of the wide array of causes of the current dysfunction, the educational community will be unable to prevent future problems.

Further Insights

Sarah and Jazmín have similar feelings about being only partially understood, respected and valued by their network members. They also share similar concepts about the meaning of what is appropriate or not according to their culture. The main differences between the two girls are their concept of academic success and their actual behaviours and attitudes towards adaptation in the Spanish high school. The personalities displayed by the two main participants along the interviews are also very different.

Sarah is more talkative and assertive in her opinions. She considers that to be academically successful, it is necessary to do more that simply pass courses, she must also study very hard, and in fact she wants to study at the university. Jazmín's comments regarding academic success are less ambitious and she does not show the same motivation to study hard.

Also, it seems that Jazmín adheres more to the Moroccan cultural pattern by avoiding interaction with male students, being quiet in class and waiting for others to defend her when males insult her. However, this behaviour had changed somewhat throughout the course. Conversely, Sarah does not hide that she challenges some Muslim traditions and she interacts with male students, though she seems to do it mainly for practical reasons or in a defensive way. These differences could originate from personality, personal background, and different familiar traditions. According to the interviews, Sarah is more willing to adapt and has a more open, resilient, and autonomous personality than Jazmín. Sarah's preparedness also seems to be higher

since she has more previous knowledge of French, Classic Arabic and content courses. Moreover, Sarah's expectations about her future are more concrete and ambitious: she wants to study hard, go to the university, and have a successful professional career, whereas Jazmín does not mention any future goals apart from passing courses. As for the different family traditions, it might be inferred from the interviews that Sarah has a more modern and cosmopolitan family with a higher socioeconomic status compared to Jazmín, whose family seems to be more traditional. In Spanish high school settings, some literature has examined the influence of background knowledge and family background (i.e. Alegre Canosa, 2004; Bermejo Fernández & Solano Lucas, 2002; El-Ghazouani, 2003; Ortí Teruel, 2004; Regil Amorena, 2004; Terrón Caro, 2006); however, the influence of the personal characteristics and social behaviour of each particular immigrant student in the process of adaptation is still worthy of further consideration and exploration.

The fact that the main participants are teenagers also plays a role. Some teachers concur with Funes (2000) that age will create more challenging male-female relationships, especially when the cultural patterns regarding the concept of being a teenager, and about male and female interactions, are so different for Spanish and Moroccans (Regil Amorena, 2004). A deeper and more systematic study of these teenager gender interactions in intercultural settings would allow for the identification of measures to promote better, more positive relationships that respect differences. For example, it seems that Sarah's self-confidence and her personal sense of being on equal footing with her male Spanish classmates help her to interact more with them. Therefore, it seems advisable to promote the development of self-esteem, confidence, equality and respect for self and others in all students, but particularly in immigrant students who may not have had these characteristics nurtured previously, as they can

contribute to success in the process of intercultural adaptation. In Canada, for example, a variety of programs exists to actively encourage the development of these characteristics in students and to create school environments based on these principles. Many provincial ministries of education across the country, for example, advocate for a program and approach known as Safe and Caring Schools to create positive social and academic school environments:

> A positive school climate exists in a school when there is collaboration, high expectations, mutual trust, caring, and support for all individuals. Having a positive school climate influences the effectiveness of a school. Students in a school with a positive school climate are more likely to attend regularly, cooperate fully, contribute more frequently and achieve better than students from a school with a less desirable school climate. Effective schools create and maintain peaceful environments that are conducive to learning. Schools need to be inviting to students, teachers and parents. Students need opportunities to enhance self-esteem and develop respect for themselves and others. Teachers need recognition and support for their contributions to the students and the school program and parents need to be welcomed through meaningful involvement as partners in the schooling process".
> (http://www.ed.gov.nl.ca/edu/dept/safesch.htm#1, retrieved July 7, 2007)

Roots of Empathy is another program being implemented in Canadian schools which aims to increase school children's emotional literacy and their understanding of the need for social inclusion, consensus building and responsible citizenship. Participation and empowerment of students and the development of a personal sense of responsibility to create more positive environments are key to all programs. The founder of the Roots of Empathy program asserts, "If we engage children in meaningful conversation and pay them respect by listening to questions and concerns, they will, in turn, feel empowered to lead and contribute to a better society." (http://tamarackcommunity.ca/g3s10_M4C9.html#empathy, retrieved July 6, 2007).

This study indicates that the lack of knowledge of the differences between the Spanish and the Moroccan cultural patterns is a main cause of misunderstanding and intolerance between the main participants and their Spanish network members when they interact, and in many cases, the cultural differences prevail over the interpersonal relationship between individuals. Therefore, it seems that an increase in intercultural knowledge and more tolerant attitudes on the part of all interacting parties would contribute to a better understanding and subsequent reduction in xenophobic attitudes. However, simply providing information without considering feelings or emotions will not be effective. It is therefore advisable to train teachers, personnel at the high school, as well as Spanish and immigrant students to increase their understanding and respect for other cultures' habits, traditions, norms, beliefs, and languages in more caring methodologies such as Ethnography of Communication, as it introduces empathy and mindful learning about the cultures of others. The results would be an increase in positive identity negotiation outcomes and better relationships between peers of different origins.

The methodology of Ethnography of Communication could be introduced in courses such as languages or social studies. This methodology requires students to obtain information from their classmates, which would generate empathy and respect for the previous knowledge, hardships, experiences and capabilities of peers who come from different ethnic origins.

As for teachers and personnel, since most of them are from Spain, the ethnographic methodology could be applied in courses or training sessions led by experts in intercultural communication. Small projects or field work could be assigned to raise their awareness of, and enthusiasm for, learning more about the cultural patterns, circumstances, and experiences of the different ethnic communities

represented in their high school. The opportunity to role-play can sometimes greatly influence people's perspectives and future behaviours. Asking teachers to imagine themselves as newcomer students interacting with a teacher who displays a lack of understanding and empathy or a helpless attitude vs. an empathetic and empowering approach, for example, can demonstrate to teachers the potential negative or positive impact they can have on a newcomer's experience. The creation of discussion groups among students, teachers, parents, and community associations of different ethnic groups to propose solutions for particular problems at school might serve as another tool to increase awareness and reduce conflict and misunderstanding.

Increased cross-cultural training and respect for diversity would benefit the social relationships of students and between students and teachers in high schools. Interestingly, the Spanish government will introduce a course called *"Educación para la Ciudadanía"* 'Citizenship Education' in the 2007-2008 academic year. This course includes, among other topics, some training in democratic values, human rights, ecology, and respect for differences in gender, race, culture or religion. The course will be compulsory in grade five or six (12 or 13 year-old students)[17] of primary education. At the secondary education level, it will be taught once in first, second or third grade (13,14 or 15 year-old students) and a second time in fourth grade (16 year-old students).The last course will have more in depth focus on feelings and critical thinking. Interestingly, in Alberta (Canada), the provincial education curricula already includes a course with the same name and some similar topics, though it has a stronger focus on psychological personal traits and social features of interactions to promote a caring school environment that promotes learning. The course content proposed in Spain seems more based on information about civic rights and regulations,

[17] The different Autonomous Communities will have competence to decide in which exact course

with the exception of the last course. In any case, intercultural learning would be more effective if it were not limited to specific course content but instead introduced in many subject areas and across disciplines.

The main participants and the network members offer some ideas to enhance the successful adaptation of the two main participants and of immigrant students in general. All the proposals are quite practical, with the aim of addressing existing problems or conflicts. This advice shows their awareness of practical adaptation issues and how they can be solved. However, it is remarkable that none of the interviewees refers to the need for changing the curricula to a more inclusive intercultural one that takes into account the background knowledge, as well as cultural values and traditions of the new communities that are present in Spanish high schools, as suggested by Alegre Canosa (2004).

Finally, the internal organization of the high school could be a relevant factor and does not seem to be studied from the perspective of intercultural communication. As mentioned before, in the case of the present study, the particular group of 3D concentrates those students with behaviour and academic problems at the high school, and as a consequence, the expectations and standards required by teachers are reduced.

It is encouraging to see that most students and teachers acknowledge a positive evolution of peer relationships as the course progresses. This seems to confirm Soriano Miras' and Santos Bailón's (2002) assertion for the case of the integration of female Moroccan immigrants in Spain. The authors state, despite the vast differences in cultures and lack of commonalities of language and religion and difficulties in communication, "....the convening of cultures will only be a question of time, since to discover the universe of the other is a mutual socialization process that needs progressive maturation"(Soriano Miras & Santos Bailón, 2002, p.173).

On another positive note, it must be acknowledged that all study participants have a relevant role in the successful adaptation of immigrant students into Spanish high schools. In her role, the researcher perceived some awareness of the existing problem and good will from all parties to help solve it. Bringing about a deeper consciousness of the reasons for the problem and an understanding of the actual responsibilities and roles of each party in creating and solving the problem are necessary next steps. Once this is achieved, intercultural communication training will be well received by all parties and could really contribute to creating respectful and rich intercultural communities inside Spanish high school classrooms. This would lead to a more tolerant multicultural society in a short time.

It would be interesting to know how different the process of cross-cultural adaptation would have been for Sarah and Jazmín in different circumstances. For example, the two Moroccan girls may have had more commonalities to share with their peers if they had been placed in a classroom with more academically-oriented students. This was the experience of an Algerian student (her interviews were not included in this study) who was very much appreciated by her classmates and who was even able to help them with French. Perhaps Sarah would have also thrived on the academic challenge, whereas Jazmín might have faced more difficulties. In any case, their social integration would still be conditional on the openness and tolerance towards Muslim students of that particular group. Another scenario to consider is if Jazmín or Sarah were the only female Arabic student in the classroom and had the current fluency in Castilian language, each girl might make more efforts to socialize, as happened in the case of the Algerian student mentioned above. Also, if the group would have behaved less aggressively and more politely, Sarah and Jazmín would had been more familiar with that communication pattern and might have interacted more

effectively. It can also be hypothesized that if there would have been more female Spanish students in the classroom, the patterns of intragroup interaction would likely have been less aggressive. Finally, the particular personalities and attitudes of Sarah and Jazmín played a significant role. As in the case of the Algerian student previously mentioned, a more open attitude and curiosity and interest in the Spanish host culture might have greatly enhanced the Moroccan girls' experiences at school. However, it may have created more problems for them at home or within the community.

All the previous suggestions are preliminary hypothesis that would require further research. The next section provides a critical revision of the present exploratory study and suggests a theoretical framework for future, larger studies.

Recommendations

Implications of the present study

The outcomes of this study suggest that enhanced intercultural communication is necessary in high school communities, especially among teachers and students. The training should include an information component, have practical application and emphasize the development of values such as tolerance, respect, particularly respect for diversity, and empathy towards others. Also, this training should consider the dynamics of the concept of identity not only on the immigrants' part but also on the Spaniards' one. In the present research these dynamics of identity were not included because Ting-Toomey static definition of identity was relied on; however, it would be advisable to take them into account for future research and training programs.

Additionally, it is really important to nurture a positive curiosity and willingness to learn about the cultures, languages, traditions, values, and ways of living and thinking of Moroccans, Romanians, and other immigrant ethnicities that

attend a particular high school, as well as to develop a comparative and critical consciousness about the present and past social and cultural reality of Spain. In so doing, all members of the school community could come to value and have some awareness of the various experiences of diverse cultural groups within the high school. Using Ting-Toomey (2005) terminology, it is necessary to develop knowledge, mindfulness, and identity negotiation skills in order to reach intercultural identity negotiation competence.

As for the specific training of Compensatory teachers, Ortí Teruel (2004) provides some general considerations for teachers who deal with immigrant students of Arabic origin and he proposes some practical activities for language classes. Bermejo Fernández and Solano Lucas (2002) also offer some didactic suggestions for language learning. However, resources that move beyond language acquisition are necessary. More resources and more effective training guides may enhance the knowledge of teachers and their sense of responsibility. This would improve their skills and help them meet the requirements of immigrant newcomer students and others with special needs.

This study casts doubt on the effectiveness of integrating immigrant students, who do not know Castilian or Valencian, in mainstream classes immediately upon their arrival. Some authors such as Alegre Canosa (2004) and Regil Amorena (2004) also discourage this practice.

Limitations of the study and recommendations for future research

The scope of this study was limited by time and financial resources. For this reason, it is defined as a pilot exploratory study. It is inspired by the methodology of Ethnography of Communication, though detailed observations did not occur over a

long enough period to be considered genuine EC research, as suggested by literature (e.g. Duff, 2002). The results obtained in this study reflect the perceptions of only two female Moroccan high school students and a limited number of their close network group members interviewed in the Spring of 2006. Consequently, the factors that influence the two Moroccan girls' adaptation at the Spanish high school and the legitimate extrapolations can only be seen as contributions to understanding the bigger picture of Moroccan female immigrant students adapting in high schools in Spain, and maybe as a starting point for more focussed, future, larger qualitative studies.

Another limitation of this study is that a control group of Spanish female teenage students at the same high school was not established in order to compare perceptions and behaviours of both groups. Furthermore, during the interviews the researcher had to add many probes to clarify or get more detailed answers, which may have influenced some of the answers, especially in the case of the students. To prevent this problem, future research applying the same methodological framework should tailor interview guides for each specific party and should test additional probes and examples with the target audience in advance. Additionally, in this exploratory study, the methodological framework of analysis was built after the data collection. As a consequence, the perceptions that arise from the comments of the interviewees have been coded after the data collection, and do not exactly correspond to the questions included in the interviews' guides. A future research could take advantage from the outcomes of this exploratory study to design interviews and questionnaires more focussed on the relevant factors that will coincide with the ones coded in the analysis section.

The goal of this study was to assess the concept of successful adaptation. The study showed that there is not one concurrent definition, but that it is a very relative and subjective concept. For this reason, it would be advisable to re-design a future study which incorporates a focus on the critical factors for successful communication interactions. Furthermore, the present exploratory research did not consider the need of non-Moroccan classmates and intergroup network members to also adapt and be successful in their intercultural interactions and this should be explored concurrently.

A more extensive, future study could be based on this solid pilot study, which focused on an ethnic immigrant group that experiences huge challenges in their interactions in Spanish high schools, as Moroccans face numerous issues related to gender, religion, language, cultural patterns, and expectations in life, amongst others. However, the new study should concentrate not only on Moroccan immigrant students, but on the interaction of all members in the classroom. As highlighted previously, a focus on feelings is highly recommended and the examination of feelings must extend beyond those of the membership of a particular group. If the ultimate aim is to have a richer and more inclusive education environment for all students, it would be more positive to have all interactants, not only those who belong to one specific group, to participate. The present exploratory study showed that expectations, of all parties, including the main participants, for complete adaptation were low. Moreover, only the main participants, some teachers and personnel at the high school perceived themselves as responsible in part for the process of adaptation. A future study that is more inclusive and based on the assumption that everyone is on "equal footing", with contributions and responsibilities for improving the situation, could be motivating for participants and might be particularly empowering for students.

It is recommended that the opinions and expectations of the same age group (14-15 year-old teenagers) be considered in future as this age group is rarely included in Spain and has not been studied using an ethnographic methodology that considers the teenagers points of view and participation as insiders. A goal of the new study would be to bring about a sense of civic responsibility, to build resiliency in all interacting parties and inspire students in particular to make changes in their school environment to make it more inclusive and respectful of diversity. In this regards, the McCreary Centre Society (Canada), a strong advocate of youth participation and the importance of building youth resiliency, states that:

> The resilience model of youth development places the emphasis on potential rather than on problem intervention. Resiliency-based programs are built upon community-wide, intersectoral collaboration and are focused on enhancing competence in young people as much as reducing a given risk behaviour or undesirable outcome. This approach sees youth as part of the solution, not just the focus of the problem. Youth participation promotes resiliency by building on youth strengths, including energy, enthusiasm and creativity. (…) Moreover, research in community development and health promotion shows that people of all ages are more likely to make a commitment to a program when they have been involved from the outset in the program's design and implementation plans. Creating opportunities for input from specific populations, including cultural-minority youth, youth in care, and youth with mental or physical disabilities will increase the likelihood that these populations will benefit from programs designed to serve them". (http://www.mcs.bc.ca/ya_why.htm, retrieved July 6, 2007).

The new research would focus on teenagers' feelings and behaviours. This focus would be based on Alegre Canosa's (2004) assertion that "the school is probably the space in which youth spend the most time during their adolescence, and to feel good or bad at school has more to do with friendships and positive relationships than with the other variables" (p. 169). This is also the basic premise of

the previously mentioned Safe and Caring Schools and Communitites (SACS) programs available in many schools across Canada:

> SACS programs focus on adult modeling and prevent negative social behaviour through character education, conflict management training and building respect for diversity. They promote a problem-solving approach to discipline that encourages positive social behaviour by expecting young people to fix the wrong they have caused thereby learning from their mistakes. All SACSC programs focus on the following five topics: (1) living respectfully, (2) developing self-esteem, (3) respecting diversity and preventing prejudice, (4) managing anger and dealing with bullying and harassment, (5) resolving conflicts peacefully. (http://www.sacsc.ca/, retrieved July 6, 2007)

The feelings of newcomers and host culture students depend very much on the attitudes and behaviours of their teachers and teachers must therefore also be included in future studies. This study uncovered that many teachers do not value diversity or recognize the capacity and previous experience of most immigrant students. Additionally, many teachers have low expectations for certain ethnic groups (such as those from Arabic or Latino origins), and many of them lack critical intercultural knowledge and training. Also, there appears to be a lack of willingness on the part of many teachers to further explore cultural differences, despite their need to be involved and informed.

Extending beyond the school walls to include the community and social environment is also very important. Any measures introduced exclusively in the school would be only partially effective and could even cause conflict with the immigrant students' families if they are not somehow included or at least informed. This issue would be especially relevant in the case of Arabic immigrants as they have a stronger sense of collective society and collective responsibility as opposed to the

more individual-based actions promoted in Spanish high schools. In the case of Moroccans, one way to reach the families and communities would be to involve Muslim or Moroccan community or religious associations in order to reduce negative stereotypes that Moroccans and Spaniards may have of the other. It would also be good to encourage these community based organizations to build a new identity of the Moroccan immigrant population in Spain, one that is critical but also inclusive of the two cultures in which their members now need to live.

Based on the previous reflections, it seems advisable to approach the phenomena of intercultural interactions with a more holistic perspective, one that considers the classroom as an intercultural setting where different individuals with some common goals and different characteristics interact. The new research question would be: How can willingness to create a richer, more inclusive environment that respects diversity for all students be nurtured? To answer this question, an ecological model based on Kim's model (2001) is proposed. The components of this model should include the following: the personal communication of all interacting parties in the classroom setting, the predisposition of each participant in the interaction (i.e., preparedness for change, ethnic proximity, and adaptive personality), and the environment (i.e. the receptivity and conformity pressure of Spanish society, the strength of the origin ethnic group in the case of immigrant students and their families). Therefore, the parties involved in this model would be: Spanish and non-Spanish students, teachers, high school personnel, families, immigrant associations, the high school as an institution, as well as higher level policy makers.

However, the breadth of such an investigation would be very wide and complicated. Therefore, it is suggested that the study start with examining only direct interactions (between Spanish and non-Spanish students and teachers), as the other

dimensions have been studied in previous literature. The research question would be subdivided to focus on the influence of students on the one hand and teachers on the other, on successful interaction outcomes.

The present exploratory study showed that the feelings and behaviours of students are very important in the success of the intercultural interaction among peers. Therefore, the categories of "Being Understood", "Being Valued", "Being Respected", "Appropriateness" and "Effectiveness" with regards of all students in the classroom setting would be studied in this new research. This study and previous literature indicated that students feeling accepted, respected and valued (i.e. having a sense of belonging) are effective for successful intercultural interaction. Also, as explained before, it is positive to have and express high expectations of them, to improve their relationships, as well as to develop their resiliency (i.e. being socially and mentally healthy).

However, this study showed that expectations for good relationships between members of different ethnic groups were very low. Therefore, the question for students would be: how can we encourage students to increase their expected and actual outcomes from the interaction? To answer this research question, the instruments proposed are semi open-ended questionnaires, including the five main categories about feelings and behaviours. Some example questions related to feelings could be: do you really feel respected? Who respects you the most, the least? Why? The same questions should be asked to all students of all origins and gender in the classroom. This ensures some sense of initiating discussions with all students on "equal footing".

With regards to the effectiveness and appropriateness of students' behaviours, questions would be based in the co-cultural practices identified in this exploratory study, such as how do students relate to each other? Some sample questions could be:

1) Do you fight with certain students? With whom? Why?

2) With which peers do you relate the most? And the least? Why?

In that questionnaire, students would also be asked about misconceptions, the ideal relationships among all peers, their individual suggestions to improve relationships and interactions in the classroom, and their responsibility or role in that process.

Finally, all students would be asked about a) their expectations for the future in terms of academics and b) their notion of ideal intercultural communication. This last part would be studied through two kinds of focus groups: one, with students of the same age, gender, and ethnic group and two, with focus groups made up of a mix of students of different ethnic groups and gender, but still the same age. These groups would need to be very effectively moderated by experienced facilitators.

As explained previously, the present exploratory study confirmed previous literature about the negative influence of teachers' low expectations on Arabic immigrant students' academic success and social interaction. The question related to teachers would therefore be: How do we get teachers to realize that their low expectations of certain groups of immigrant students can potentially decrease their academic success and also their success in social interactions in the classroom? For this purpose, the new research would only consider the categories of "Appropriateness" and "Effectiveness" from this exploratory investigation, and would try to discover examples of misunderstandings, make teachers aware of them, promote teachers' empathy and mindful interest in immigrant newcomers, increase

teachers' expectations about immigrant students, and involve teachers in the active process of improving the intercultural classroom's environment.

To collect information about the teachers' degree of misperceptions, misconceptions or stereotypes, it would be helpful to use questionnaires that include different scenarios of actual situations of cultural misunderstandings that can be addressed with different knowledge, attitudes, and practices. The teachers would have to choose among some proposed hypotheses. The following questions serve as an example of the types of scenarios that could be included:

A male and a female student, both from Morocco, sit together but do not talk to each other in class. This is because: a) they do not want to make the effort to adapt, b) their culture prohibits interaction between males and females, and c) they are in love.

At the end of the questionnaire, teachers would receive an answer key to raise their awareness. Also, the new research would try to develop the teachers' empathy for their students of all origins. This would be accomplished with meaningful training in intercultural communication, as explained previously. The use of ethnographic methodologies and the implementation of long term projects that have already been proven effective in other countries would help (e.g., the "Roots of Empathy" Program or Safe and Caring Schools Initiative previously discussed).

The new research study would also meet the objective of giving teachers a voice and a venue to express their opinions and suggestions. For this purpose, focus groups of teachers would be asked: a) what are your expectations of immigrant students and do these influence the performance of your students (i.e., what is your responsibility, what can you change?) b) taking into account your new knowledge and

your previous experiences, how do you propose that you (and the school) can assist in solving some of the problems or current misunderstandings?

The answers to these questions would be very useful for the educational community to have a new perspective about how to increase the expected and real outcome in the interactions in the multicultural classroom setting in Spanish high schools. It would be important to explicitly articulate the types of real misunderstandings that occur because of a lack of knowledge of other cultures and traditions and how these can lead to distance, isolation and lack of respect, empathy and validation.

The data collection for the new research would ideally take place in at least three public high schools (with a total of about 1500 students) in the same area in which this study was conducted, in Comunidad Valenciana, since they would face similar challenges such as bilingual education (Castilian and Valencian), similar policies and programs related to incorporating immigrant students, and similar rates of immigrant students. However, the same framework is applicable in any high school in Spain or even in other countries where this multicultural phenomenon is initiating in high school classroom settings.

By using at least three high schools, results of the questionnaires could reach statistical significance and focus group findings would allow for more reliable findings and extrapolations. Moreover, having data from three schools would moderate characteristics or circumstances peculiar to only one setting. All students and teachers of each high school would be invited to participate in the questionnaires.

As for the focus groups, teachers and students from two particular classroom setting of 3rd grade of ESO (14 year-old students) would be invited to participate from

each high school. The groups should range from six to ten people, as according to the literature, larger numbers could decrease their efficiency. Ideally, the focus group of teachers should include a compensatory Valencian teacher, a compensatory Castilian teacher, and the tutors of both groups, as compensatory teachers have a closer relationship with immigrant newcomers, and the tutor with all students. Student focus groups in each school would ideally include two focus groups for each main ethnic group (one of female and the other of male students), and two groups with members of the different ethnic groups present in these two classes at each high school (one of female and the other of male students). All the focus groups would be video recorded.

Instead of using interviews as in this exploratory research, the new study would collect qualitative data through focus groups. The interviews uncovered most of the factors already studied in previous literature and many times comments were recurrent. Focus groups would allow the researcher to have more in depth conversations and would likely generate more creative solutions for improving intercultural interactions in the high school. Also, the focus groups would help to increase the awareness of participants and their sense of personal engagement and responsibility for the issues discussed.

To assist in collecting data on interactions in the classroom setting from an "outsider" perspective, the researcher would also observe each one of the six selected classes (two from each high school) at least once per month during an entire academic year and in different courses. Also, the researcher should observe the compensatory classes attended by immigrant students from the selected classes. It would be advisable to observe these compensatory classes at least once at the beginning of the course and once at the end. The researcher would take field notes on his/her observations.

Additional data collection methods could include two compositions to be done by all the student participants in each of the six classes, one at the beginning and the other at the end of the academic year. These compositions would focus on the students' perceptions and expectations of their peer relationships. From these compositions, the researcher might choose ten cases indicating the most positive changes in attitudes, perceptions and predispositions and interview these students. The compositions and interviews would be a way to test the impact of this research on student participants.

Finally, the approach implemented for the suggested new research could be introduced in part as an ethnographic methodology to train teachers and students in intercultural communication. This methodology could also be applied in other contexts and at other levels of education such as primary education, vocational studies, university or adult learning and second generation immigrant students. Moreover, other Western countries beginning to experience the immigration phenomenon and grater numbers of immigrant students in their high schools could benefit from studies based on this theoretical framework.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: PROFILES OF INTERVIEWEES

Table 1.*Intra-group network members: main participants and their peers*

Name (pseudonym)	Age	Gender	Mother Tongue	Other Languages	Time living in Benimasa (Spain)	Origin	Party
1. Sarah	15	female	Dariya (Moroccan dialect of Arabic)	French Classic Arabic Castilian Valencian (low level)	2 years	Casablanca (Morocco)	Main participant
2. Jazmín	15	female	Dariya (Moroccan dialect of Arabic)	French (low level) Castilian Valencian (low level)	2 years	Tetuan (Morocco)	Main participant
3. Marisa	15	female	Romanian	Castilian Valencian (low level) English Italian (low level)	1.5 years	Romania	Non Moroccan immigrant classmate
4. Karima	17	female	Dariya (Moroccan dialect of Arabic) Tamazight (dialect of Bereber)	French (low level) Castilian Valencian (low level)	4.5 years	Nador (Morocco)	Moroccan immigrant classmate
5. Cristiano	16	male	Castilian	Valencian (listening and writing, no speaking)	8 years	Ciudad Real (Spain)	Male Spanish classmate
6. Manolo	15	male	Castilian and Valencian	English (low level)	15 years	Benimasa (Spain)	Male Spanish classmate
7. Felipe	15	male	Castilian and Valencian	English (low level)	15 years	Benimasa (Spain)	Male Spanish classmate
8. Alejandro	14	male	Castilian and Valencian	English (low level) Moroccan (some knowledge)	14 years	Benimasa (Spain)	Male Spanish classmate

Table 2.*Inter-group Network Members: Personnel at Benimasa High School*

Name (pseudonym)	Age	Gender	Mother Tongue	Origin	Party
9. Gauss	30-35	male	Castilian Valencian	Spain	Teacher (tutor and Physics)
10. Papallona	35-40	female	Castilian Valencian	Spain	Teacher (Compensatory Castilian)
11. Marta	40-45	female	Castilian Valencian	Spain	Teacher (Compensatory Valencian)
12. Valenciana	45-50	female	Castilian Valencian	Spain	Teacher (Valencian)
13. Elena	30-35	female	Castilian Valencian	Spain	Teacher (Castilian)
14. Harnoncourt	45-50	male	Castilian Valencian	Spain	Psychologist
15. Maria	35-40	female	Castilian Valencian	Spain	Vice-Principal
16. Angela	30-35	female	Castilian Valencian	Spain	Receptionist
17. Sofia	50-55	female	Castilian	Spain	Administration Staff
18. Karla	45-50	female	Castilian Valencian	Spain	Cafeteria Staff
19. Olga	45-50	female	Castilian Valencian	Spain	Cafeteria Staff

Appendix B: Interview Guide

(Spanish and accompanying English translation)

Spanish version

ENTREVISTA 1: ESTUDIANTES INMIGRANTES (PARTICIPANTES PRINCIPALES)

Proyecto de investigación:

"CLAVES PARA LA ADAPTACÍON DE ESTUDIANTES INMIGRANTES EN UNA SECUNDARIA ESPAÑOLA"

A. Información personal.

1. Nombre
2. Pseudónimo
3. Sexo: □ Masculino □ Femenino
4. Fecha y lugar de nacimiento
5. Ocupación
6. Nivel de educación
7. ¿A qué edad llegaste a España?

B. Antecedentes lingüísticos y experiencia en el extranjero.

8. ¿Cuál/es es/son tu/s lengua/s materna/s?
9. ¿Qué otras lenguas hablas? ¿cuál es tu nivel en cada una de ellas? (principiante, intermedio, avanzado, a nivel oral, escrito, etc.)
10. Si has vivido en otros países aparte de España, ¿cuáles son? ¿por cuánto tiempo? (¿cómo fue la experiencia?)
11. ¿Cuánto tiempo has vivido en España? ¿en qué lugares, por cuanto tiempo?

C. Actitudes

12. ¿Has sentido en algún momento la necesidad de adaptarte a la cultura española? Describe esos momentos o situaciones. ¿Qué pensaste en ese momento sobre ello?¿Cómo te sientes y qué piensas ahora respecto a ello?

13. Habla de tu proceso de adaptación cultural a España. ¿Fue fácil, difícil, largo, corto, divertido, etc.? ¿Por qué?
14. ¿De qué temas hablas con tus amigos/as y compañeros/as españoles? ¿De qué temas hablas con tus amigos/as y compañeros/as inmigrantes (de tu misma cultura y de otras)¿quiénes son tus amigos más cercanos? (¿cuántos tienes?) ¿de qué cosas puedes hablar con los estudiantes españoles que no comentas con otros estudiantes inmigrantes? ¿de qué cosas puedes hablar con los estudiantes inmigrantes que no comentas con los españoles?
15. ¿Qué cosas haces con tus amigos de otras culturas que no haces con tus amigos/compañeros españoles? ¿y al revés?

D. Presunciones culturales

- **En lugares públicos (en la calle, comercios, bares, discotecas, autobuses, el tren, etc.):**

16. ¿Has observado algún tipo de comportamiento de estudiantes inmigrantes que los estudiantes españoles consideran intolerable? ¿Cuál/es? ¿por qué crees que eso sucede?
17. ¿Cuándo llegaste a España, ¿ qué es lo que más te sorprendió de la cultura española y de tus compañeros/as españoles?¿ Hay diferencias respecto a Benimasa y otras zonas de España?

- **En el instituto:**

18. ¿Hay alguna cosa que encuentres (observes) sorprendente entre:
    a) Profesores y estudiantes españoles inmigrantes.
    b) Personal no docente del centro y estudiantes españoles/ inmigrantes.
    c) La relación estudiante-estudiante:
        - Cuando los dos son inmigrantes y pertenecen a la misma cultura
        - Cuando los dos son inmigrantes y pertenecen a diferentes culturas
        - Cuando uno es español y el otro inmigrante
        - Cuando los dos son españoles

- **En conversaciones informales:**

19. Por favor, describe brevemente situaciones en que hayas tenido malentendidos con otro/a estudiante (inmigrante o español). ¿Cuál fue el motivo? ¿cómo saliste de la/s situación/es?

E. Factores de adaptación:

20. Por favor, menciona tres cualidades o características personales que tu crees que facilitan una adaptación con éxito a una nueva cultura.
21. Por favor, menciona tres características personales que crean barreras e impiden a la gente adaptarse con éxito a la nueva cultura, ¿cuáles son los principales obstáculos para adaptarse?
22. ¿Qué consejos le darías a un/a estudiante recién llegado/a a España para ayudarle a integrarse mejor en tu instituto?
23. ¿Qué consejos les darías a los estudiantes españoles para ayudar a los estudiantes inmigrantes a adaptarse mejor? ¿y a los profesores (españoles/inmigrantes)?
24. ¿Qué destacarías de tu propia experiencia personal en la adaptación a la cultura española?

Muchas gracias por tu participación ☺

English Translation

INTERVIEW 1: IMMIGRANT HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN SPAIN (MAIN PARTICIPANTS)

Research Project:

"KEYS TO THE ADAPTATION OF IMMIGRANT STUDENTS IN THE SPANISH HIGH SCHOOL"

A. Personal Information

1. Name
2. Pseudonym:
3. Sex: □ Male □ Female
4. Date and place of birth
5. Occupation
6. Level of Education
7. At what age did you arrive in Spain?

B. Language background and experience abroad

8. What is/are your native language/s?
9. What other languages do you speak? What is your level of proficiency in each one (beginner, intermediate, advanced)?
10. Where have you lived outside Spain? How long?
11. How long have you lived in Spain?

C. Attitudes

12. Did you at any moment feel that you had to adapt to Spanish culture? Describe some of those moments. How did you feel about that? How do you feel and what do you think now about that process?
13. Explain about your process of cultural adaptation to Spain. Was it easy, difficult, long, short, fun, etc.? Why?
14. What kinds of things do you talk about with Spanish classmates and friends but not with immigrant students? What kinds of things do you talk about with immigrant classmates and friends (from your same culture or from other cultures), but not with Spanish students? Who are your closest friends (how many close friends do you have)?
15. What kinds of activities do you do with friends who come from the same country as you that you wouldn't do with Spanish friends?

D. Cultural assumptions:

- **In public places (streets, commercial centers, pubs, buses, etc.)**

16. Are there any types of behavior that are displayed by immigrants that Spaniards do not tolerate? Which one(s)? What do you think are the reasons for that?
17. When you came to Spain, what surprised you most about Spanish culture and Spanish students? Do you perceive differences between Benimasa and other places in Spain?

- **In high school:**

18. Have you found anything surprising <u>(and if so, what?)</u> about interactions between
    a) Teachers and Spanish / immigrant students
    b) Administration personnel and Spanish / immigrant students

c) Student / student

-When they share the same (other than Spanish) culture

-When they are immigrants from different cultures

-When one is Spanish and the other is immigrant

-When they are Spanish students

- **In informal conversations:**

19. Please briefly describe situations of misunderstanding between you and another immigrant student / a Spanish student. What happened? How did you deal with the situations?

E. Factors of adaptation

20. Please tell me three skills / personal characteristics that you think facilitate successful adaptation to a new culture.
21. Please tell me three personal characteristics which create barriers and prevent people from successfully adapting to a new culture.
22. What advice would you give to a newly arrived immigrant student in order for him/her to integrate better in your Spanish high school?
23. What advice would you give to Spanish students to help immigrant students integrate better in your high school?
24. From your personal experience, what would you highlight or emphasize about adaptation to Spanish culture?

Thank you very much for your participation ☺.

Spanish version

ENTREVISTA 2: COMPAÑEROS/AS INMIGRANTES

Proyecto de investigación:

"CLAVES PARA LA ADAPTACÍON DE ESTUDIANTES INMIGRANTES EN UNA SECUNDARIA ESPAÑOLA"

A. Información personal.

1. Nombre
2. Pseudónimo
3. Sexo: □ Masculino □ Femenino
4. Fecha y lugar de nacimiento
5. Ocupación
6. Nivel de educación
7. ¿A qué edad llegaste a España?

B. Antecedentes lingüísticos y experiencia en el extranjero.

8. ¿Cuál/es es/son tu/s lengua/s materna/s?
9. ¿Qué otras lenguas hablas? ¿cuál es tu nivel en cada una de ellas? (principiante, intermedio, avanzado, a nivel oral, escrito, etc.)
10. Si has vivido en otros países aparte de España, ¿cuáles son? ¿por cuánto tiempo? (¿cómo fue la experiencia?)
11. ¿Cuánto tiempo has vivido en España? ¿en qué lugares, por cuanto tiempo?

C. Actitudes

12. Según tú, ¿cómo describirías el proceso de la adaptación cultural de un/a estudiante inmigrante? (fácil, difícil, largo, corto, divertido, etc.) ¿por qué? ¿y para el caso concreto de estudiantes de Marruecos?
13. ¿Cuáles son las principales dificultades que tú observas en el proceso de adaptación de tu/s amigos/as inmigrantes a España? ¿y al instituto especialmente?

14. ¿Qué cosas hace/n tu/s amigos/as inmigrantes [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es] que les ayuda a adaptarse a España?
15. ¿De qué temas hablas con tu/s amiga/s [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es] que no comentas con otros estudiantes de origen español? ¿y al revés?
16. ¿Qué cosas haces con tu/s amiga/s [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es] que no haces con tus amigos/compañeros españoles? ¿y al revés?

D. Presunciones culturales.

- **En lugares públicos (en la calle, comercios, bares, discotecas, autobuses, el tren, etc.)**

17. ¿Has observado algún tipo de comportamiento de estudiantes inmigrantes que los estudiantes españoles consideran intolerable? ¿Cuál/es? ¿por qué crees que ésto sucede?
18. Cuándo llegaste a España, ¿ qué es lo que más te sorprendió de la cultura española y de tus compañeros/as españoles? ¿y ahora, qué te continua sorprendiendo? ¿ Hay diferencias respecto a Benimasa y otras zonas de España?

- **En el instituto:**

19. ¿Hay alguna cosas que encuentres (observes) sorprendente en la relación entre:
    a) Profesores y estudiantes españoles/inmigrantes
    b) Personal no docente del centro y estudiantes españoles/ inmigrantes
    c) La relación estudiante-estudiante:
        - Cuando los dos son inmigrantes, y ambos/as pertenecen a la misma cultura. ¿Hay diferencias según sea chico o chica?
        - Cuando los dos son inmigrantes. y pertenecen a diferentes culturas. ¿Hay diferencias según sea chico o chica?
        - Cuando uno es español y el otro inmigrante
        - Cuando los dos son españoles
20. Tu amiga inmigrante [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es], se comporta de modo diferente a otros estudiantes inmigrantes en su interacción con:

a) Los profesores/as
b) El personal administrativo (no docente)
c) Otros estudiantes inmigrantes (chicos, chicas, de su mismo origen y de otros países)
d) Los estudiantes españoles

- **En conversaciones informales:**

21. ¿Has presenciado alguna situación en que hubo un malentendido entre tu amiga inmigrante [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es] y alguna/s otra/s persona/s que pertenecía a una cultura diferente a la de tu amiga ¿Cuál fue el motivo? ¿cómo salió de (resolvió) la/s situación/es?

E. Factores de adaptación:

22. Por favor, menciona tres cualidades o características personales que tu crees que facilitan una adaptación con éxito a una nueva cultura.
23. Por favor, menciona tres características personales que crean barreras e impiden a la gente adaptarse con éxito a la nueva cultura, ¿cuáles son los principales obstáculos para adaptarse?
24. Por favor, explica brevemente qué cosas hace/n (o dice/n) tu/s amiga/s o compañera/s [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es] para integrarse mejor en el instituto.
25. ¿Qué consejos le darías a un/a estudiante recién llegado/a a España para ayudarle a integrarse mejor en tu instituto? ¿y en especial, si es de Marruecos? ¿qué consejos le darías a tu amiga [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es]
26. ¿Qué consejos les darías a los estudiantes españoles para ayudar a los estudiantes inmigrantes a adaptarse mejor? ¿y a los profesores (españoles/inmigrantes)? ¿y para ayudar concretamente a tu amiga [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es]
27. ¿Qué destacarías de tu propia experiencia personal en la adaptación a la cultura española?

Muchas gracias por tu participación ☺

English Translation

INTERVIEW 2: IMMIGRANT PEERS

Research Project:

"KEYS TO THE ADAPTATION OF IMMIGRANT STUDENTS IN THE SPANISH HIGH SCHOOL"

A. Personal Information

1. Name
2. Pseudonym:
3. Sex: □ Male □ Female
4. Date and place of birth
5. Occupation
6. Level of Education
7. At what age did you arrive to Spain?

B. Language background and experiences abroad.

8. What is/are your native language/s?
9. What other languages do you speak? What is your level of proficiency in each one (beginner, intermediate, advanced)?
10. Have you ever lived outside of Spain? Where? How long? How was the experience?
11. How long have you been living in Spain? Which places and for how long in each one?

C. Attitudes towards immigrant students

12. According to you, how easy/difficult is the process of cultural adaptation for immigrant students (easy, difficult, long, short, enjoyable, etc.)? Why? And what about for the specific case of Moroccan students?
13. What main difficulties do you observe in the process of cultural adaptation to Spain of your friend [name of the main participant/s]? And specifically in the high school?

14. What kind of things your immigrant friends [name of the main participant/s] do that help them to adapt to Spain?

15. What kind of things/issues do you discuss with your Spanish friends/colleagues but not with immigrant friends/colleagues? And the other way around?

16. What kinds of activities do you do with Spanish students that you wouldn't do with immigrant students? And the other way around?

D. Cultural assumptions:

- **Outside of high school (on the streets, in commercial centers, in pubs, on buses, etc.)**

17. Are there any forms of behavior displayed by immigrants that are not tolerated in Spanish culture? Which one(s)? Why? Why do you think this happens?

18. When you came to Spain, what surprised you most about Spanish culture and Spanish students? Do you perceive differences between Benimasa and other places in Spain?

- **In high school:**

19. Have you found anything surprising (and if so, what?) in interactions between:

a) Teachers and Spanish/immigrant students.

b) Administration personnel and Spanish/immigrant students.

c) Between students:

a. When they are immigrants and share the same culture. (Are there differences between male and female students?)

b. When they are immigrants from different cultures. (Are there differences between male and female students?)

c. When one of them is immigrant and the other is Spanish.

d. When they are both Spanish.

20. Your classmate/friend [main participant's name] behaves differently than other immigrant students in her interaction with:

i. teachers?

ii. administration personnel?

iii. other immigrant students (males and females from her same origin and from other countries)?

iv. Spanish students?

- **In informal conversations with people from countries other than your own:**

21. Have you witnessed situations of misunderstanding between your immigrant friend [main participant's name] and people from a culture other than your friend's? How did your friend deal with those situations?

E. Factors of adaptation

22. Please tell me three skills / personal characteristics that you think facilitate successful adaptation to a new culture.

23. Please tell me three personal characteristics which create barriers and prevent people from successfully adapting to a new culture.

24. Please explain briefly what your friend or classmate [main participant's name] does to try to integrate better in your high school?

25. What advice would you give to Spanish students to help immigrant students integrate better in your high school?

26. What advice would you give to an immigrant student in order to integrate better in your high school?

27. From your personal experience, what would you highlight or emphasize about adaptation to Spanish culture?

Thank you very much for your participation☺.

Spanish version

ENTREVISTA 3: COMPAÑEROS ESPAÑOLES

Proyecto de investigación:

"CLAVES PARA LA ADAPTACÍON DE ESTUDIANTES INMIGRANTES EN UNA SECUNDARIA ESPAÑOLA"

A. Información personal.

1. Nombre
2. Pseudónimo
3. Sexo: □ Masculino □ Femenino
4. Fecha y lugar de nacimiento
5. Ocupación
6. Nivel de educación

B. Antecedentes lingüísticos y experiencia en el extranjero.

7. ¿Cuál/es es/son tu/s lengua/s materna/s?
8. ¿Qué otras lenguas hablas? ¿cuál es tu nivel en cada una de ellas? (principiante, intermedio, avanzado, a nivel oral, escrito, etc.)
9. Si has vivido en otros países aparte de España, ¿cuáles son? ¿por cuánto tiempo? (¿cómo fue la experiencia?)

C. Actitudes

10. Según tú, ¿cómo describirías el proceso de la adaptación cultural de un/a estudiante inmigrante? (fácil, difícil, largo, corto, divertido, etc.) ¿por qué? ¿y para el caso concreto de estudiantes de Marruecos?
11. ¿Cuáles son las principales dificultades que tú observas en el proceso de adaptación de tu/s amigos/as inmigrantes [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es] a España? ¿y al instituto especialmente?
12. ¿Qué cosas hace/n tu/s amigos/as inmigrantes [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es] que les ayuda a adaptarse a España?

13. ¿De qué temas hablas con tu/s amiga/s [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es] que no comentas con otros estudiantes de origen español? ¿y al revés?
14. ¿Qué cosas haces con tu/s amiga/s [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es] que no haces con tus amigos/compañeros españoles? ¿y al revés?

D. Presunciones culturales.

- **En lugares públicos (en la calle, comercios, bares, discotecas, autobuses, el tren, etc.)**

15. ¿Has observado algún tipo de comportamiento de estudiantes inmigrantes que los estudiantes españoles consideran intolerable? ¿Cuál/es? ¿por qué crees que esto sucede?
16. ¿Qué es lo que más te sorprende de los estudiantes inmigrantes?

- **En el instituto:**

17. ¿Hay alguna cosas que encuentres (observes) sorprendente en la relación entre:
    a) Profesores y estudiantes españoles/inmigrantes
    b) Personal no docente del centro y estudiantes españoles/ inmigrantes
    c) La relación estudiante-estudiante:
        - Cuando los dos son inmigrantes, y ambos/as pertenecen a la misma cultura. ¿Hay diferencias según sea chico o chica?
        - Cuando los dos son inmigrantes. y pertenecen a diferentes culturas. ¿Hay diferencias según sea chico o chica?
        - Cuando uno es español y el otro inmigrante
        - Cuando los dos son españoles
18. Tu amiga inmigrante [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es], se comporta de modo diferente a otros estudiantes inmigrantes en su interacción con:
    a) Los profesores/as
    b) El personal administrativo (no docente)
    c) Otros estudiantes inmigrantes (chicos, chicas, de su mismo origen y de otros países)
    d) Los estudiantes españoles

- **En conversaciones informales:**

19. ¿Has presenciado alguna situación en que hubo un malentendido entre tu amiga inmigrante [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es] y alguna/s otra/s persona/s que pertenecía a una cultura diferente a la de tu amiga ¿Cuál fue el motivo? ¿cómo salió de (resolvió) la/s situación/es?

E. Factores de adaptación:

20. Por favor, menciona tres cualidades o características personales que tu crees que facilitan una adaptación con éxito a una nueva cultura.
21. Por favor, menciona tres características personales que crean barreras e impiden a la gente adaptarse con éxito a la nueva cultura, ¿cuáles son los principales obstáculos para adaptarse?
22. Por favor, explica brevemente qué cosas hace/n (o dice/n) tu/s amiga/s o compañera/s [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es] para integrarse mejor en el instituto.
23. ¿Qué consejos le darías a un/a estudiante recién llegado/a a España para ayudarle a integrarse mejor en tu instituto? ¿y en especial, si es de Marruecos? ¿qué consejos le darías a tu amiga [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es]
24. ¿Qué consejos les darías a los estudiantes españoles para ayudar a los estudiantes inmigrantes a adaptarse mejor? ¿y a los profesores (españoles/inmigrantes)? ¿y para ayudar concretamente a tu amiga [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es]
25. ¿Qué destacarías de tu propia experiencia personal en la adaptación al nuevo proceso de llegada masiva de compañeros inmigrantes a las clases? ¿ y concretamente en el caso de los estudiantes de Marruecos?

Muchas gracias por tu participación ☺

English translation

INTERVIEW 3: SPANISH PEERS

Research Project:

"KEYS TO THE ADAPTATION OF IMMIGRANT STUDENTS IN THE

SPANISH HIGH SCHOOL"

A. Personal Information

1. Name
2. Pseudonym:
3. Sex: □ Male □ Female
4. Date and place of birth
5. Occupation
6. Level of Education

B. Language background and experiences abroad.

7. What is/are your native language/s?
8. What other languages do you speak? What is your level of proficiency in each one (beginner, intermediate, advanced)?
9. Have you ever lived outside of Spain? Where? How long? (How was that experience for you?)

C. Attitudes towards immigrant students

10. According to you, how easy/difficult is the process of cultural adaptation for immigrant students (easy, difficult, long, short, enjoyable, etc.)? Why? And for the specific case of Moroccan students?
11. What kinds of things do your immigrant friends [name of the main participant/s] do that help them to adapt to Spain?
12. Whar main difficulties do you observe in your friend's [main participant's name] process of cultural adaptation to Spain?
13. What kinds of issues/things do you discuss with your Spanish friends/colleagues that you do not discuss with your immigrant friends/colleagues [name of the main participant/s]? And the other way around?
14. What kinds of activities do you do with Spanish students that you wouldn't do with immigrant students? And the other way around?

D. Cultural assumptions:

- **Outside of high school (on the streets, in commercial centers, in pubs, on buses, etc.)**

15. Are there any forms of behavior (and if so, which one(s)) displayed by immigrants that are not acceptable in Spanish culture? Why?
16. What surprises you most about immigrant students?

- **In high school:**

17. Have you found anything surprising, (and of so, what) in interactions between:
    d) Teachers and immigrant students.
    e) Administration personnel and immigrant students.
    f) Between students:
        - When they are immigrants and share the same culture. (Are there differences between male and female students?)
        - When they are immigrants from different cultures. (Are there differences between male and female students?)
        - When one of them is immigrant and the other is Spanish.
        - When they are both Spanish.
18. Does your classmate/friend [main participant's name] behave differently than other immigrant students in her interaction with:
    g) teachers?
    h) administration personnel?
    i) other immigrant students (males and females from her same origin and from other countries)?
    j) Spanish students?

- **In informal conversations with people from countries other than your own:**

19. Have you witnessed situations of misunderstanding between your immigrant friend/colleague [main participant's name] and people from a culture different than your friend's? How did your friend/colleague deal with those situations?

E. Factors of adaptation

20. Please tell me three skills / personal characteristics that you think facilitate successful adaptation to a new culture.
21. Please tell me three personal characteristics which create barriers and prevent people from successfully adapting to a new culture.

22. Please explain briefly how you try to adapt to immigrant students who come to Spain.
23. What advice would you give to Spanish students to help immigrant students integrate better in your high school?
24. What advice would you give to an immigrant student in order to integrate better in your high school?
25. What would you highlight from your personal experience with regards to adaptating to the massive arrival of immigrant colleagues to the classroom? And particularly in the case of Moroccan students?

Thank you very much for your participation ☺.

Spanish version

ENTREVISTA 4: PROFESORES Y PERSONAL DEL CENTRO

Proyecto de investigación:

" CLAVES PARA LA ADAPTACÍON DE ESTUDIANTES INMIGRANTES EN UNA SECUNDARIA ESPAÑOLA"

A. Información personal.

1. Nombre
2. Pseudónimo
3. Sexo: □ Masculino □ Femenino
4. Edad: 20-25 , 26-30, 31-35, 36-40, 41-45, 46-50, 51-55, 56-60, 61-65
5. Puesto de trabajo:
6. Nivel de educación

B. Antecedentes lingüísticos y experiencia en el extranjero.

7. ¿Cuál/es es/son tu/s lengua/s materna/s?
8. ¿Qué otras lenguas hablas?¿cuál es tu nivel en cada una de ellas? (principiante, intermedio, avanzado, a nivel oral, escrito, etc.)
9. Si has vivido en otros países aparte de España, ¿cuáles son? ¿por cuánto tiempo? (¿cómo fue la experiencia?)

C. Actitudes

10. Según tú, ¿cómo describirías el proceso de la adaptación cultural de un/a estudiante inmigrante? (fácil, difícil, largo, corto, divertido, etc.) ¿por qué? ¿y para el caso concreto de estudiantes de Marruecos?
11. ¿Cuáles son las principales dificultades que tú observas en el proceso de adaptación de las estudiantes [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es que asisten a su clase] a España? ¿y al instituto especialmente?
12. ¿Qué cosas hace/n tu/s alumnos/as inmigrantes [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es que asisten a su clase] que les ayuda a adaptarse a España?

13. ¿De qué temas hablas con tu/s alumnos/as españoles que no podrías discutir (o hablar) con los/las estudiantes inmigrantes? (lengua, temas culturales, etc.) ¿por qué? ¿y al revés?
14. ¿Qué cosas haces con tu/s alumnos/as españoles no haces con tus estudiantes inmigrantes ¿y al revés? ¿por qué?

D. Presunciones culturales.

- **En lugares públicos (en la calle, comercios, bares, discotecas, autobuses, el tren, etc.)**

15. ¿Has observado algún tipo de comportamiento de estudiantes inmigrantes que en la cultura española se considera intolerable? ¿Cuál/es? ¿por qué crees que esto sucede?
16. ¿Qué es lo que más te sorprende acerca de los estudiantes inmigrantes? ¿y concretamente de la cultura marroquí? ¿puedes explicar las diferencias observadas entre los chicos y las chicas?

- **En el instituto:**

17. ¿Hay alguna cosas que encuentres (observes) sorprendente en la interacción entre:
    a) Profesores y estudiantes inmigrantes
    b) Personal no docente del centro y estudiantes inmigrantes
    c) La relación estudiante-estudiante:
        - Cuando los dos son inmigrantes, y ambos/as pertenecen a la misma cultura. ¿Hay diferencias según sea chico o chica?
        - Cuando los dos son inmigrantes. y pertenecen a diferentes culturas. ¿Hay diferencias según sea chico o chica?
        - Cuando uno es español y el otro inmigrante
        - Cuando los dos son españoles
18. Tus estudiantes inmigrantes [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es que asisten a su clase], se comportan de modo diferente a otros estudiantes inmigrantes en su interacción con:
    a) Los profesores/as
    b) El personal administrativo (no docente)

c) Otros estudiantes inmigrantes (chicos, chicas, de su mismo origen y de otros países)

d) Los estudiantes españoles

19. ¿Has observado comportamientos de los estudiantes inmigrantes concretamente en el instituto, que no son tolerables en la sociedad española? ¿cuáles? ¿cómo reaccionas ante ellos? ¿y por parte de los estudiantes españoles respecto a los inmigrantes? ¿cuáles y cómo reaccionas?

- **En conversaciones informales:**

20. ¿Has presenciado alguna situación en que hubo un malentendido entre tu/s alumna/s inmigrantes [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es que asisten a su clase] y alguna/s otra/s persona/s que pertenecía a una cultura diferente a la de ella/s ¿Cuál fue el motivo? ¿cómo salió de (resolvió) la/s situación/es?
21. Por favor, describe brevemente situaciones en las que haya habido confusiones o mal interpretaciones entre tú y algún estudiante inmigrante (en general, de Marruecos). ¿Cómo saliste de esta situación?
22. ¿Puedes describir alguna situación en la que un estudiante inmigrante sale airoso, bien, en una situación de malentendido con un estudiante español? ¿y con un profesor/a? ¿y con alguien del personal del instituto?
23. ¿Puedes explicar el caso contrario a la pregunta 22, en la que un estudiante fracasa, no tiene éxito en la misma situación (o parecida)? ¿qué sucedió? ¿qué crees que debería haber hecho el/la estudiante inmigrante? ¿y la otra persona participante en la interacción?

E. Factores de adaptación:

24. Por favor, menciona tres cualidades o características personales que tu crees que facilitan una adaptación con éxito a una nueva cultura.
25. Por favor, menciona tres características personales que crean barreras e impiden a la gente adaptarse con éxito a la nueva cultura, ¿cuáles son los principales obstáculos para adaptarse?
26. Por favor, explica brevemente cómo tú, como profesor/a, intentas adaptarte a los estudiantes inmigrantes que llegan a tus clases.

27. ¿Qué consejos le darías a un/a estudiante recién llegado/a a España para ayudarle a integrarse mejor en tu instituto? ¿y en especial, si es de Marruecos? ¿qué consejos le darías a tus estudiantes [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es que asisten a su clase]?
28. ¿Qué consejos les darías a los estudiantes españoles para ayudar a los estudiantes inmigrantes a adaptarse mejor al instituto? ¿y a tus colegas profesores (españoles/inmigrantes)?
29. ¿Cómo describirías a un/a estudiante inmigrante que se ha adaptado con éxito a la vida del instituto y está integrado/a? ¿podrías dar tu opinión acerca del grado de adaptación de [nombre de la/s participante/s principal/es que asisten a su clase]?
30. ¿Qué destacarías de tu propia experiencia personal en la adaptación al nuevo proceso de llegada masiva de estudiantes inmigrantes a las aulas? ¿y concretamente en el caso de los estudiantes de Marruecos?

Muchas gracias por tu participación ☺

English translation

INTERVIEW 4: TEACHERS AND HIGH SCHOOL PROFESSIONALS

Research Project:

"KEYS TO THE ADAPTATION OF IMMIGRANT STUDENTS IN THE SPANISH HIGH SCHOOL"

A. Personal Information

1. Name
2. Pseudonym:
3. Sex: □ Male □ Female
4. Age: 20-25 , 26-30, 31-35, 36-40, 41-45, 46-50, 51-55, 56-60
5. Occupation
6. Level of Education

B. Language background and experiences abroad.

7. What is/are your native language/s?
8. What other languages do you speak? What is your level of proficiency in each one (beginner, intermediate, advanced)?
9. Have you ever lived outside of Spain? Where? How long?

C. Attitudes towards immigrant students

10. How easy/difficult is the process of cultural adaptation for immigrant students (easy, difficult, long, short, enjoyable, etc.)? Why? And for the specific case of Moroccan students?
11. How would you describe [main participant's name] process of cultural adaptation to Spain? And specifically to the high school?
12. What kinds of things does [name of the main participant] do that help her to adapt to Spain?
13. What kinds of things/issues do you discuss with Spanish students that you would not talk about with immigrant students? (Language, cultural issues, etc.) Why?
14. What kinds of activities do you do with Spanish students that you would not do with immigrant students? Why?

D.Cultural assumptions:

- **Outside of high school (on the streets, in commercial centers, in pubs, on buses, etc.)**

15. Are there any form of behavior (and if so, which one(s)) that are displayed by immigrants but are not acceptable in Spanish culture? Why?
16. What surprises you most about immigrant students? And specifically about the Moroccan culture? Can you explain the differences that you observe between males and females?

- **In high school:**

17. Have you found anything surprising (and if so, what?) in interactions between:
    a) Teachers and immigrant students.
    b) Administration personnel and immigrant students.
    c) Between students:

- When they are immigrants and share the same culture. (Are there differences between male and female students?)
- When they are immigrants from different cultures. (Are there differences between male and female students?)
- When one of them is immigrant and the other is Spanish.
When they are both Spanish.

18. Your student [main participant's name] behaves differently than other immigrant students in her interaction with:
    a) Teachers
    b) Administration personnel
    c) Other immigrant students (males and females from her same origin and from other countries).
    d) Spanish students.
19. Are there any forms of behavior displayed by immigrant students in your high school that are not acceptable in Spanish society? Which ones? How do you react to these? And on the part of Spanish students, are there behaviours that are not acceptable to immigrant students? Which ones and how do you react to these?

- **In informal conversations with immigrant students:**

20. Have you witnessed situations of misunderstanding between your student [main participant's name] and people from a culture other than her own? How did your student deal with those situations?
21. Please briefly describe situations of misunderstanding between you and an immigrant student (in general, from Morocco). How did you deal with those situations?
22. Can you describe a situation when another immigrant student successfully managed a situation of misunderstanding with a Spanish student? With a teacher? With personnel at the high school?
23. Can you describe a situation when another immigrant student failed in a situation of misunderstanding with a Spanish student? Teacher? Personnel at the high school? What happened? What do you think should have been done?

E. Factors of adaptation

24. Please tell me three skills / personal characteristics that you think facilitate an immigrant student's successful adaptation to a new culture.
25. Please tell me three personal characteristics which can create barriers and prevent people from successfully adapting to a new culture.
26. Please explain briefly how you, as a teacher, try to adapt to immigrant students who attend your classes.
27. What advice would you give to your Spanish colleagues to help immigrant students better integrate in your high school? And specifically in the case of Moroccans? What advice would you give to your student [main participant's name]?
28. What advice would you give to Spanish students to help immigrant students integrate better in your high school?
29. How would you describe an immigrant student who has successfully adapted to high school life and is integrated there? What is your opinion on the degree of adaptation of your student [main participants' name]?
30. What would you highlight from your personal experience with regards to adaptating to the massive arrival of immigrant colleagues to the classroom? And particularly in the case of Moroccan students?

Thank you very much for your participation☺

Appendix C: Spanish Transcriptions of Examples from Interviews

Each example is classified as follows:

Example 1-A2:

- "1" refers to the category (1 for "Being Understood", 2 for " Being Valued", 3 for "Being Respected", 4 for "Appropriateness", 5 for "Effectiveness", 6 for "Academic Success", and 7 for "Social Success")
- "A" refers to the party (it will be "A" if it is a main participant, the letter will be "B" if the comment is from a member of any network party).
- "2" refers to the number of comments in that category (i.e. for the category of "Being Understood", there are 2 comments from a main participant).

Examples coded in Category 1 - "Being Understood"

A) Party 1: Main participants

Example 1-A2 [Interview of 02-06-06 with Jazmín, main participant]
Coded as Jazmin feeling that she is "somewhat being understood"
J: Jazmin (participante principal)
I: Investigadora
J: Sí, y estoy haciendo las fotocopias para aprender.
I: Y entonces, sí que ibas aprendiendo, no entendías mucho, pero te iba bien estar en la clase.
J: Sí.
I: ¿No te sentías muy mal, muy agobiada?
J: Un poquito porque a...,los alumnos, ya ves como algunos bromistas, bueno, algunos de ellos son buena gente, y hay muchos son racistas.

Example 1-A3 [Interview of 02-06-06 with Jazmín, main participant]
Coded as Sarah feeling that she is "being understood"
S: Sarah
I: Investigadora
I-En el instituto,¿hay cosas que encuentras sorprendentes en la relación entre los profesores y los estudiantes?
S-Sí
I-¿Qué? ¿Qué cosas?
S-Profesores son mejor que los estudiantes.
I-Más majos con vosotros o con, contigo, por ejemplo, ¿no? Pero, vamos a observar, por ejemplo a una compañera tuya, la que tu quieras, imagínate, y la relación con los profesores, ¿ hay cosas que te parecen sorprendentes, lo que me has dicho antes, la relación entre los profesores y los estudiantes, que sea diferente a como era en Casablanca?
S-Ya
I-Lo que me explicabas antes¿ no? De que son más distantes...

S-s, aquí la profesora es como tu amiga
I-uhu
S-Te hablan así, tienes novio no sé qué no sé qué, en Marruecos no tienes que hablar con la profesora si tienes novio no sé qué, sólo tienes que estudiar y ya está.
I-Aha, y a ti, ¿qué te gusta más?
S-Pos hablar con la profesora, pregunta y eso,
I-uhu, uhu, te gusta más así tener confianza.
S-Pos en Marruecos a mí me gusta el instituto, el instituto de Marruecos, porque porque allí, ya te digo, es muy chulo,

Example 1-A4 [Interview of 25-05-06 with Sarah, main participant]
Coded as Sarah feeling that she is "not being understood"
S: Sarah
I: Investigadora
I-aha, muy bien, muy bien. Y, vamos a darles consejos, por ejemplo, a tus compañeros de clase para que ayuden a las personas que llegan nuevas, como vosotros, o a las personas extranjeras, para estar mejor, para adaptarse mejor, ¿cómo pueden ayudarte tus compañeros?
S-Pos que te deja en paz.
I-¿Cómo?
S-Que no hable con ellos y ya está.
I-No, ellos van a hacer cosas para ayudarte a ti, a estar mejor en clase, a adaptarte, a que te sientas mejor.
S-Pos los españoles, no, no hacen eso, no te ayudan, se ríen de ti.

B) Party 2: Main participants' network members

Intragroup member parties

Party: male Spanish classmates

Example 1-B2 [Interview of 09-06-06 with Cristiano, male Spanish classmate]
Coded as Sarah and Jazmín "being understood"
C: Cristiano
I: Investigadora
I: Aja. Y tú ves alguna diferencia en la participación...Porque yo sé que en algunas asignaturas ellas tienen libros diferentes. ¿Tú cómo ves eso?
C: Bien. Lo veo bien, porque, por ejemplo el libro que tenemos nosotros de valenciano ellas, bueno, el nivel que tiene el libro no es... para ellas, que llevan poco tiempo aquí en España. Y por eso le tienen que poner libros, a su medida, para que se vayan iniciando.
I: Pero entonces, por ejemplo, porque el otro día estuve en clase y lo vi un poquito, porque ellas están allí solas, leyendo su libro o haciendo exámenes a parte, y vosotros lleváis otra historia.
C: Otra historia, sí.
I: Eso ¿cómo lo ves? O sea, está bien en el sentido de que se adapten...
C: Sí, o sea, está bien porque el, a lo mejor nuestra clase no la podrían seguir, o tendríamos que estar interrumpiéndola para explicarle, bueno explicarle-, de todas maneras, tienen que explicarle cosas.

Example 1-B3 [Interview of 07-06-06 with Alejandro, male Spanish classmate]
Coded as Moroccan immigrant students "being understood"
A: Alejandro
I: Investigadora
I: Aha. Muy bien. Y para ti es más fácil entenderles porque tu padre es de Marruecos o...no?
A: A veces sí, porque cuando los insultan me siento un poco-, digo, "va, parad porque yo también me ofendo".

Example 1-B4 [Interview of 02-06-06 with Manolo, male Spanish classmate]
Coded as immigrant people in general "being understood"
M: Manolo
I: Investigadora
I: y ya. Del tiempo que llevas estudiando, verdad que ha habido un cambio y cada vez hay más estudiantes extranjeros?
M: Sí.
I: ¿Cómo?, ¿tú que piensas de eso, cómo te sientes, cómo te ha afectado?
M: Yo sé, me siento que, lo tienen que estar allí pasando mal, para pasarse aquí, y más en fiestas y eso.
I: En fiestas, ¿en qué sentido?
M: Que cuando son más fiestas, más inmigrantes llegan aquí a España.
I: No entiendo.
M: Que en fiestas, en Navidad y eso, entra más gente, más inmigrantes a España, eso me he fijado mucho, en la tele y eso.
I: No sé. Y eso, es que ves que sufren mucho... ¿Y a ti cómo te afecta en tu vida normal, que hay más estudiantes inmigrantes y eso?
M: No me afecta para nada.
I: ¿y te gusta o no te gusta?
M: Sí me gusta,
I: ¿Por qué?
M: Porque puedes hablar con otros, te pueden decir, no sé, pueden hacer cosas, decir cosas en árabe y eso, no sé, digo pon mi nombre ahí en árabe, y te lo ponen. Eso sí.

Example 1-B5 [Interview of 07-06-06 with Alejandro, male Spanish classmate]
Coded as Sarah and Jazmín "being somewhat understood"
A: Alejandro
I: Investigadora
I: Ahora estamos en el instituto, y vuelves a ser observador.
A: Vale.
I: Hay cosas que ves sorprendentes, o un poquito que te llamen la atención, dime tus observaciones, en la relación profesor-estudiante español y profesor-estudiante marroquí. Especialmente nuestras chicas, pero...
A: Ellos pues hacen trabajos diferentes porque no están a la altura de hablar, de hacer nuestros ejercicios.
I: Aha.
A: Y eso, bueno.
I: A ti eso que te parece?
A: Bien. Bueno, a veces la gente dice, ey, porque sea marroquí no tienes que ponerle cosas más fáciles. Es verdad, como no saben hacer lo que les mandan, quieren hacer lo que hacen ellos porque es más fácil.

I: Y a ti eso te, o sea, eso lo dicen algunos compañeros. Pero para ti eso está bien, te parece bien que les hagan-
A: Claro, para que aprendan poco a poco. Nosotros llevamos más años aquí, pues ya lo hemos aprendido, pos que ellos vayan aprendiendo, poco a poco.

Example 1-B6 [Interview of 09-06-06 with Cristiano, male Spanish classmate]
Coded as Sarah and Jazmín "being somewhat understood"
C: Cristiano
I: Investigadora
I: Aha. Muy bien, muy bien. ¿Y de otras cosas?
C: Otras cosas? No...valenciano, que les cuesta también.
I: Aha.
C: Castellano, les puede costar la literatura, pero igual que a otras personas, o sea, no sé con otras cosas. En mi clase, lo que es literatura, lo que es antigua y eso, les cuesta a lo mejor entenderlo, lo que hacían los personajes en esa época y eso.
I: Aha. Y tú observas, ¿cómo te das cuenta? ¿Cómo lo observas? ¿Cómo lo expresan que les cuesta?
C: Pues, yo siempre que miro, están preguntándole a Selma, que es como si...yo miro y digo, en vez de decírselo a la profesora que entiende...Selma tampoco es indicada para...
I: para saberlo todo.
C: Se quedan sin hacerlo, por no preguntar a lo mejor. Yo qué sé, no lo entienden y eso, yo les miro la cara y digo, pues, eso se ve que les cuesta bastante.

Example 1-B7 [Interview of 09-06-06 with Cristiano, male Spanish classmate]
Coded as immigrants in general "being somewhat understood")
C: Cristiano
I: Investigadora
I: ¿Y tú cómo lo ves, porque no lo ves que los inmigrantes sean una invasión?
C: Lo comprendo, veo la televisión y veo reportajes de que allí se vive mal. Se tienen que ir a otros países a, yo que sé, a vivir mejor. Lo que no veo también es que vengan con las pateras, porque, no sé, hay, también se puede venir, vale que no tengan dinero, pero pateras...Luego dicen que no quieren-, no les gusta que les digan ilegales.
I: Te molesta que no se lo piensan antes de venir, como que, que no se saquen bien los papeles antes de venir.
C: Que se lo piensen. O sea, a ver, que no lo he explicado bien. No me parece bien que vengan en pateras, me parece bien que vengan bien, en barcos, pero que tengan su pasaporte, los papeles. No que vengan por venir, por venir a otro país.
I: No que lo vean esto como una salida, ¿ no?
C: Claro.

Example 1-B8 [Interview of 02-06-06 with Felipe, male Spanish classmate]
Coded as Sarah and Jazmín "being somewhat understood"
F: Felipe
I: Investigadora
I: Vale. Y ahora, de tu propia experiencia, de eso que estábamos hablando al principio del todo, desde el tiempo que tú empezaste en la escuela y a lo mejor no había muchos inmigrantes a ahora, qué, qué me destacarías o qué dirías de lo que ha pasado, de todo eso.

F: Pues que han venido muchos, en cuatro meses han venido muchos.
I: ¿En éstos cuatro últimos meses?
F: Sí, por ejemplo en Tenerife, allí han venido mil y pico, y allí pos...Y España no hace nada, España sólo carita, es muy flojo, los meten en un barco y "avant", no hacen nada.

Example 1-B9 [Interview of 02-06-06 with Manolo, male Spanish classmate]
Coded as Sarah and Jazmín "being somewhat understood"
M: Manolo (compañero español)
I: Investigadora
I: Y las chicas, ¿qué hacen, qué cosas, cómo observas en la clase, hablan mucho, hablan en español?
M: Sí hablan mucho y hablan en español cuando tienen que hablar con la otra, del otro país.
I: ¿Con Marisa?
M: Sí.
I: Pero cuando hablan con vosotros también hablan español?
M: Sí, hablan español.
I: Y entre ellas, ¿hablan más...?
M: Sí, hablan más árabe.
I: Y a ti, ¿ te molesta que hablen árabe?
M: No, al principio sí porque señalaban y hablaban y eso, pero sinos...Sí.
I: Aha. Vale. ¿Y cómo te llevas con ellas?
M: Yo bien, sí, bastante bien.
I: A veces os peleáis pero es de broma, ¿no?
M: Sí.

Intergroup member parties

Party: Teachers

Example 1-B10 [Interview of 25-05-06 with Papallona, Compensatory Castilian teacher]Coded as Moroccan immigrant students in general "being understood"
P: Papallona (profesora de castellano de Compensatoria)
I: Investigadora

I: (...) Bueno, ahora vamos al instituto. Cosas, otra vez, que son sorprendentes en la relación entre profesor y estudiante inmigrante, en general y sobretodo los y las marroquíes.
P: No... ¿cómo que, cómo los estudiantes?
27.00
I: Sí, por ejemplo cuando se relacionan contigo si son más educados de lo normal, si te interrumpen, si no te interrumpen, pero un poquito de lo que estabamos hablando...
P: ya, pues, eh...conmigo pues normalmente yo intento darles un trato así, un poco más, por decirlo de alguna manera más cercano, porque claro, entiendo que para ellas [Sarah y Jazmín], como se encuentran con tantas dificultades en este camino o en este subir las escaleras, pues intento que el trato sea un poco más cercano, y ellas[Sarah y Jazmín] veo que también muchas veces me cuentan cosas, o me, sobretodo las chicas, algún chico también, eh, y entonces pues resulta, pues, claro

para ellos soy un poco también la confiden...confidente en el sentido de me cuentan algunas cosas.
I: Y por ejemplo algunos problemas que están teniendo A lo mejor...
P: Sí, tú que harías es que nos pasa esto y tal.
Example 1-B11 [Interview of 07-06-06 with Marta, Compensatory Valencian teacher]
Coded as Moroccan immigrant students in general "being somewhat understood"
M: Marta (profesora de valenciano de Compensatoria)
I: Investigadora
I: ¿Qué dificultades ves que tienen en el proceso de adaptación? O sea, hemos visto como lo describes, y las dificultades exactas que tienen esas estudiantes, incluso podríamos decir cada una de ellas.
M: Hombre dificultades, una dificultad básica y primera, es la lengua. Pienso, ¿no? porque es la manera de integrarse y de relacionarse. Pero pienso que una vez eso lo superan, que normalmente si tienen interés no les cuesta demasiado, a los marroquíes un poco más que a los otros, los otros rápidamente se adaptan lingüísticamente, después es eso, ¿no? Adaptarse a una forma de vida, que como no es tan parecida a la nuestra, es más difícil. Tienen también, un ejemplo en el centro educativo, un calendario que marca unos días festivos que después no están de acuerdo con sus propias fiestas, no sé, hay unos elementos que hacen que pueda ser más difícil o un problema.
I: ¿Y tienen como obligatorio los días festivos de su cultura? ¿Qué hacen?
M: No vienen,
I: En la fiesta del Cordero y eso...
M: No vienen.
I: ¿Y avisan o...?
M: Hombre, sí que suelen avisar, "mañana no vendré porque mañana es esto" o tal, o...
I: ¿Y qué pasa entonces con la asistencia, se les pone faltas o...?
M: Es que ahora, yo creo que antes sí que era más común y solían decirlo. Ahora pienso que ya no es tan habitual y tan frecuente, y no hacen ningún comentario, y tú conoces más esas fiestas. Pero no...supongo que en principio se les pondrá falta, porque después se puede justificar pero en principio es una ausencia, claro. Pero no lo sé, no te lo sé decir.

Example 1-B12 [Interview of 07-06-06 with Elena, Mainstream Castilian teacher]
Coded as immigrant students " being understood"
E: Elena (profesora de castellano de 3D)
I: Investigadora
E: para adaptarse. Sí, yo creo que comentamos algo así como las ganas de, bueno, primero que todo, querer. Querer, bueno, es muy fácil decirlo, es una situación nueva, te sientes, supongo que te debes sentir fatal, que nadie te entiende y todo esto, pero aún así, intentar también comprender al otro, ¿ no? Entonces, intentar comprender que eres tú el que llega de fuera, porque muchas veces yo creo que eso no lo tienen muy claro, no? Entonces, ehm, no lo digo por estas nenas, pero en general sí que, muchas veces pretenden, es que a mí no me entienden.
I: Aha
E:Ya, pero es que tu tampoco explicas tu situación, ni haces nada para entender al otro entonces yo creo que ahí es un fallo por las dos partes, creo yo, por una parte, la

sociedad falla al integrarlos, y por otra parte, ellos fallan al integrarse a sí mismos, no? Yo creo que ahí hay un pequeño desajuste.
I:uhju

Example 1-B13 [Interview of 06-06-06 with Gauss, tutor of 3D and Physics teacher] Coded as both [Sarah and Jazmin] "being understood"
G: Gauss
I: Investigadora
I: Muy bien. Y, ¿qué es lo que hacéis más o menos en tutoría? Bueno, me han explicado que incluso tenéis material para cursos de integración...
G: Sí, sí...Eh, pues hemos hecho un poquito de todo, a parte de preparar sesiones de evaluación, hemos tratado algún tema, pues de ecología o cosas así, temas, los típicos que suelen tratarse así en tutoría, y a veces pues, les dejo estudiar para alguna otra materia si tienen exámenes..., hacemos un poquito de todo.
I: Y ah, porque el otro día me dicen, les dije "necesito haceros una entrevista", y me dicen, "la hora de tutoría no porque tenemos que reivindicar no sé que no sé cuantos". Te hacen cosas así en...
G: Sí, claro, ellos aprovechan esa hora para comentar las las cosas que les gustan, no les gustan...Lo que pasa es que claro, muchas veces sus sus protestas, @ a parte de que carecen de fundamento, eh, no les ves, no les ves mucho sentido, dices pero que estás protestando aquí? Pero claro, no puedes decirles eso porque se ofenderían, entonces, pues lo que haces es intentar convencerles poco a poco de que la otra opción, lo que se hace es lo correcto, que...
I: ¿Y si van razonándolo?
G: No, que va, ellos siguen siempre en sus trece. Es muy difícil eh, que ellos después se lo piensen y reflexionen...Muy difícil.
I: ¿Y ves una diferencia por ejemplo, con estas chicas y con el chico marroquí y con los españoles, o es general el grupo, en este tipo de actitudes y respuestas?
G: Yo diría que es general. Cuando hay algo que-, pongo un nombre, Shamira, hay algo que no le gusta, ella seguirá con que ese algo no le gusta, y tú se lo puedes razonar, pero ella seguirá que no le gusta. Y con Sarah me ha pasado también...o sea, quiero decir que, pienso que es mucho de la edad. A esa edad a ellos les gusta, imagino que es parte del desarrollo de la persona, sentirse que sus razonamientos ya están al nivel de los adultos, entonces, claro, les cuesta reconocer que pueden haberse equivocado en un razonamiento. Se mantienen en sus trece y...

Example 1-B14 [Interview of 06-06-06 with Gauss, tutor of 3D and Physics teacher] Coded as both [Sarah and Jazmin] "being understood"
G: Gauss
I: Investigadora
G: Ellos sí que a veces han hecho comentarios, yo que sé, por qué: ¿los musulmanes no podéis comer cerdo? A veces entre ellos sí que se han hecho...
I: Esas preguntas, sí.
G: Algún comentario así me han hecho, pues, si me lo hacen intento darles una explicación en la medida de mis conocimientos, pero vamos.
I: ¿Crees que necesitarías algún tipo de conocimiento más que te ayudara para tratar con estos nuevos estudiantes?
G: Hombre, a mí la verdad es que nunca se me ha planteado ningún problema con ellos, de decir yo hago, que, yo que sé, y que a ellos les molestase y yo no sé que ha pasado. Entonces imagino que, yo en principio no veo...

I: No ves la necesidad.
G: Si alguien me @ hace ver lo contrario @, estoy completamente predispuesto, a aprender.
I: Pero que no has visto que...
G: No, todavía no me he encontrado una situación en que haga o diga algo que a ellos les resulte molesto.
I: Aha, has podido ver en sus reacciones, que no ha habido ningún problema...
G: Entonces, en principio, yo los trato como unos estudiantes más, yo no me preocupo si son marroquíes o si son...me preocupo en la medida en que puedan necesitar la lengua y tenga que adaptarme en cierta medida a su nivel, pero no me preocupo en cuanto ni a sus creencias, ni a su origen ni nada de todo esto.
I: Y ya está, muy bien. ¿Y adaptarte a ellos, cómo es, hablar más despacio, repetir más...?
G: De la misma manera pues que, si hubiese, pues alumnos, yo que sé, españoles con determinadas necesidades educativas...Eh, me gusta mucho que cuando explico algo, después de la explicación hacerles a ellos preguntas directas.
I: Oh, Sarah, esto o aquello...
G: Exactamente, "puedes decirme-, mira vamos a hacer este ejercicio, ¿puedes decirme cómo se hace?" o "Jazmín". Entonces, me gusta mucho preguntarles, pero también me gusta a la gente de aquí. Pero para asegurarme en este caso que ellos tienen más dificultades, de que van entendiéndolo, les tengo más prioridad sobre otros a la hora de preguntar.

Example 1-B15 [Interview of 06-06-06 with Gauss, tutor of 3D and Physics teacher]
Coded as both [Sarah and Jazmin] "being understood"
G: Gauss
I: Investigadora
I: ¿Y sientes que los demás se resienten por eso, que vayáis más lento? Me refiero a los españoles...
G: No, porque también hay dificultad, hay españoles que les cuesta mucho, ellos también les pregunto mucho, y entonces, yo creo que...sí habrá un par o tres de alumnos que, un par o tres de los que yo tengo, porque yo no tengo toda la clase, yo tengo una parte. Entonces tengo dos o tres, quizás ellos agradecerían ir más rápido, porque les ves más sobrados, o con-, sí, tienen más conocimientos, pero...pero no, la verdad, la verdad es que no creo que se quejen por eso.

Example 1-B16 [Interview of 07-06-06 with Elena, Mainstream Castilian teacher]
Coded as both [Sarah and Jazmin] "not being understood"
E: Elena
I: Investigadora
I-Uhu, ¿y en la dinámica de la clase, por ejemplo, en la manera en que se hacen o se organizan las clases?
E-Yo es que en eso, yo por lo menos estoy muy perdida, yo no sé si bueno preguntarles o es contraproducente, por ejemplo,no?, entonces, yo, siempre que pregunto algo lo pregunto en general y si veo que una de ellas, por ejemplo Jazmín o Sarah levanta la mano, inmediatamente les pregunto a ellas.
I-Muy bien
E-Pero preguntarles a ellas directamente.. Si estamos leyendo por ejemplo a turnos, pos entonces sí, cuando pasa por ellas sí que les pregunto, pero preguntarles a ellas

directamente un ejercicio o preguntarles directamente a ellas, no sé si es bueno o no, entonces no lo hago, pregunto en general o no les pregunto directamente a ellas. Pues muchas veces yo creo que es un problema de ignorancia, que tampoco sabemos muy bien que hacer, no, o no sé, funcionamos un poco por buena voluntad, nadie nos da unas directrices así de decir bueno, ante estos estudiantes o con esta cultura, lo ideal sería que hicierais esto y esto y esto.
I-Muy bien.
E-Eso yo lo agradecería mucho, pero no...

Example 1-B17 [Interview of 25-05-06 with Papallona, Compensatory Castilian teacher] Coded as immigrants in general "not being understood"
P: Papallona
I: Investigadora
I: Y ahora...con los profesores. Y a lo mejor sí que podrías darles muchos consejos porque estás muy en contacto con el alumnado, más cercanos y digamos lo tienes más...
P: Yo es que para los consejos, es complicado, tenerlos en el aula, porque claro están en compañía con los otros alumnos, y a lo mejor son quince o son veinte y entonces claro, es, es preparar material a parte, o hacer adaptaciones del material que tienen para todo el curso, sería conveniente que hicieran determinadas adaptaciones, que yo sé que no se hacen en muchos casos en las materias, porque eso implica...mucho trabajo a parte.
(...)
P:Y luego que intenten valorar el esfuerzo que hacen los alumnos en venir a las horas estas, porque los horarios se solapan, o sea para venir aquí, tienen que perder horas de, lectivas. Entonces claro, hay algunos profesores que sí que se adaptan a-, pero hay otros que son más reacios y me dicen "pues si no, si yo un día no los tengo, y los otros días que vienen, pues no los puedo aprobar" o cosas así.
I: Y entonces, ¿ que le sucede al estudiante cuando pasa eso, se desmotiva?
P: Claro, se desmotiva y entonces, a lo mejor, al año siguiente o cuando, o durante el curso, no quieren venir a lo mejor. Ha pasado algunas veces, porque dicen es que si vengo, por otra parte voy a suspender las otras materias. Y entonces al principio del curso hay muchas veces que sí que se plantea esto.
I: El problema. Y luego, se les puede ir liberando, ¿verdad? Durante el curso, cuando sea...
P: Sí, sí, conforme van adquiriendo nivel, pues puedes decir, tú ahora, durante el segundo o el tercer trimestre, ya puedes quedarte en la clase y seguir el ritmo...

Party: Psychologist, Vice-Principal, and Administration Staff

Example 1-B18 [Interview of 29-05-06 with Harnoncourt, psychologist]
Coded as Moroccan immigrant students "being somewhat understood"
H: Harnoncourt (psicólogo del instituto)
I: Investigadora
I: (...)¿Cómo describirías el proceso de adaptación cultural de un estudiante inmigrante? O sea, dirías, si le pusiéramos adjetivos, eh, fácil, difícil, largo, corto...

H: En general, vamos a ver, ¿puedo poner un término intermedio? Umm, un poco difícil, un poco difícil, ¿eh?, y también depende. Y largo, sí, largo, por lo menos medio largo, corto en absoluto, eh?, medio largo.
I: ¿Cómo sería?
H: Yo diría que además depende de los contextos, yo me refiero que sería circular, ¿no?, con lo que es a al centro y eso creo que, como hay una buena predisposición, en principio ahí diría que es corto, ahí es más fácil, pero luego ya los contextos de barrio, ciudad y, yo creo que ahí los procesos son un poco más difíciles, que cuestan más, eh, y entonces, pues eso, a medida que van saliendo de su círculo, de círculos más pequeños o más dispuestos como puede ser el centro, ahí sí ya les va a costar, el barrio ya les cuesta un poco, a nivel localidad les cuesta un poco más, eh? Ya, me refiero que son cosas que en fin, poco a poco, les va a costar, porque cuando vienen aquí son ellos, son los amigos y poco a poco van conociendo, pero luego fuera, pues tiene que ser la familia la que se tiene que adaptar..., entonces qué ocurre, pues que muchas veces sí van a vivir entre comillas a barrios donde se juntan todos, o sea hacen una especie de mini gueto, pero aún así luego, descenderse por la población, relacionarse más XX, es un proceso más a medio plazo.
I: ¿Pero crees que la mayoría lo consigue o hay muchos casos en los que no se consigue eso?
H: Yo creo que, a nivel de centro, sí que se consigue, aha, y a nivel de, y a nivel de localidad, bueno barrio y localidad, diría por desto, barrio también, localidad..., depende localidades, también digo depende localidades eh?, depende el tipo de localidad que sea, si son pequeñas o medias, creo que sí se va consiguiendo, si son ya un poco más grandes, cuesta un poco y, pero es un proceso, creo que sí, a la larga sí que se conseguirá, sí que se conseguirá, y también, depende creo también, de la estructura que tenga la familia. Porque hay familias que vuelven a Marruecos, y entonces depende de, yo eso me doy cuenta en las chicas, eh, veo que hay chicas que sí que tienden a intentar integrarse más en la sociedad, cambiar estilos, y hay familias que cuando vuelven a Marruecos, eso, esa entre comillas esas alas, ese tipo de integración se los cortan.
I: Se los cortan y cuando vuelven aquí vuelven a estar como cuando llegaron.
H: Exactamente, entonces veo que ahí ahí hay una dicotomía, por decir una dicotomía, sobretodo en alumnas, alumnas que, poco a poco se están acogiendo a nuestra cultura, poseen muchas cosas de nuestra de nuestra cultura, pero que los padres intentan que no se extiendan tanto, entonces, cuando vuelven a Marruecos, ahí hay otro, otro apretón, y entonces hay chiquitas que sí que salen, sí que salen de eso, las ves en su comportamiento, en su forma de hablar, en su forma de vestir, pero hay otras que no, que les ves que, la familia, las controla en excesivo y siguen con las tradiciones y cuesta un poco bastante,eh, un detalle, eh, esto es cualitativo y cotilleo @@@...

<u>Example 1-B19</u> [Interview of 29-05-06 with Sofia, Administration staff]
Coded as immigrant students feeling that "not being understood"
S: Sofia (Administrativa del instituto)
I: Investigadora
I: Y, ¿tienes algún ejemplo de algún malentendido? Así, alguna cosa que haya pasado, mira me pasó esto que así...@
S: Sí que hay algunos, pero tampoco...
I: ¿Alguno que puedas recordar? ¿Ahora mismo no se te ocurre ninguno?

S: Se enfadan mucho a lo mejor si no han comprendido que les pides una cosa o que que no los dices en el momento, o sea cuando les damos la información,
I: Sí
S: ...tú les das la información que la tienen detallada escrita pero si a lo mejor tú de viva voz no les dices algo, luego, si no lo han traído te echan a ti la culpa, de que no les has avisado de que eso tenían que haberlo traído...
I: Aunque esté en el papel, ¿no?
S: Es más así
I: Más oral, ¿no? Muy bien. Ves, una cosita, sí.

Example 1-B20 [Interview of 29-05-06 with María, Vice-Principal]
Coded as Moroccan students "being somewhat understood"
M: Maria (jefa de estudios del instituto)
I: Investigadora
Maria -Jefa de estudios de secundaria [30083-31548]
I: (...). Ahora sería como te adaptas como profesora, a lo mejor podría ser como jefa de estudios por una parte y como profesora, qué esfuerzos haces tú para adaptarte a estos estudiantes inmigrantes.
M: Pues haces doble esfuerzo, a parte de enseñar conocimientos y valores, porque yo los pongo en el mismo estadio, los conocimientos y valores, a parte de esto, tienes que adaptarte a sus niveles, que son bastante bajos. Entonces, y tienes que adaptarte a un idioma que tampoco conoces. Yo creo que deberíamos todos los profesores hacer cursillos de algo de árabe y algo de rumano, en la actualidad. Y lo digo muy en serio. El año pasado, yo estuve por la labor de hacer un curso aquí para los profesores, en árabe.
I: Y hubo, ¿se apuntaron bastante gente?
M: Es muy difícil, pero sí, no, no habría problema. Pero al final es que teníamos otros cursos, y bueno, se dio prioridad a aquello porque en aquel momento...
I: Era más importante.
M: Sí, era más urgente.
I: Aja. Bueno, pero es un...Y lo que me estabas diciendo, o sea, concretamente, dices tengo que adaptarme porque el nivel es más bajo, ¿cómo te adaptas?, ¿es...?
M: Pues bajar niveles. Hablar más despacio, repetir más veces, estar encima de ellos, eso es casi una adaptación curricular. Hacer adaptaciones curriculares con estos alumnos y repetir, repetir y repetir. Y bajar, y bajar y bajar niveles.

Example 1-B21 [Interview of 29-05-06 with Sofia, Administration staff]
Coded as immigrants in general "being understood"
S: Sofia (Administrativa)
I: Investigadora
I: (...)¿cómo observas el comportamiento de los estudiantes [inmigrantes], en en lo que tenga que tratar contigo?
S: Normalmente no hay ningún inconveniente si es no lo entienden la primera vez, la segunda intentas informarles o por lo menos hacerte entender.
I: Aha, más lentamente o...de-
S: O más decirles esto y le pones una cruz (señala a un papel) a a lo que se han dejado por traer o, o alguna así...
I: Cositas así, ¿no? Muy bien, muy bien.

Appendix D: Transcription Conventions

The interviews were transcribed literally, using the words of the interviewees. The grammatical and lexical errors (more frequent among non-native Castilian speakers) have not been corrected. All names are pseudonyms to protect the anonymity of the participants.

The following conventions have been used in the transcriptions:

(hello)	An unclear word or utterance
XXX	Unintelligible word/s
bue-	Incomplete or cut-off words
…	Incomplete sentence
(…)	Some words or utterances omitted
@	Laughter
"avant"	A word from another language
How can they help, the… [teachers] ?	Word added by the researcher to help clarify the meaning of an utterance
a teacher are*	A grammatical or lexical error